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AUGUST, 1919







1941

Scott
N.C.



An anglo-saxon meal. From an ancient illumin. MS.

6.78.

Illustrations,
CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL,
AND MISCELLANEOUS,
OF
NOVELS
BY THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

BY THE
REVEREND RICHARD WARNER,
RECTOR OF GREAT CHALFIELD, WILTS.

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum.

Horace.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. 1.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

1824.

793086

PRINTED BY RICHARD CRUTTWELL,
ST. JAMES'S-STREET, BATH.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE pretensions of this work are very humble. It lays claim to little originality with respect to its plan, and to less as far as its materials are concerned. The *only merit* to which it aspires, is that of separating truth from fiction, by presenting to its readers the *actual realities* of those persons and things, which have furnished the Author of Waverley with the leading characters and events of his different Novels; but which have been so adorned by his genius, or distorted by his fancy, as to be robbed of much of their resemblance to their historical prototypes; and the *only praise* which it can anticipate, is that of some patient research, and some little dis-

crimination, in the acquisition and selection of materials for this purpose.

Whether or not that intermixture of fictitious with recorded history, which forms so marked a feature in the character of modern novels, be right in itself, or favourable in its result to the interests of truth, the progress of sound knowledge, and the moral improvement of the age, is a question that we do not mean to encounter. It is a *mooting* point, which has been often and ably discussed; and still remains undetermined, though the ingenious author of the novels before us has himself cleverly argued its admissibility. But, be such a species of composition defensible or not, it cannot, we think, be doubted, that, when a long series of works of this description has nearly monopolized the public taste, and deeply interested the popular feeling, it may be desirable to accompany those deviations from rigid fact, in which they so largely abound, by the statements of real

history ; that the *bane* (if it must be so termed) may be corrected by its *antidote* ; and the minds of the young, the idle, and the unread ; (and to them only must we venture to offer our volumes,) may be preserved from imbibing false impressions and erroneous notions on subjects, respecting which accurate information is highly interesting, if not essentially important.

We doubt whether the title of our work should not have been guarded by the restrictive expression of "*some illustrations*," lest the reader should anticipate more information in it, than he will actually find. The particulars admitting of illustration in the Novels by the Author of Waverley (forming in themselves a little library) are so numerous and diversified ; the characters, incidents,



1911
1912

Scott
NC

and extensive research; we cannot but regard them with a high degree of wonder and admiration.

The success of this series of novels has not, however, been disproportioned to their legitimate claims on the favour and patronage of the public. A sale, unexampled in the history of this species of literature, has well rewarded the talents and labour of the Author of *Waverley*; who must have secured to himself an ample fortune out of the *four hundred thousand* pounds, which the public have expended on his Works.*

* The following list includes all the Novels hitherto published by the Author of *Waverley*, with the number of volumes, and respective price of each Novel:

Waverley, 3 vols.	£1 1 0	Abbot, 3 vols.	£1 4 0
Guy Mannering, 3 vols.	1 1 0	Ivanhoe, 3 vols. .	1 10 0
Antiquary, 3 vols.	1 4 0	Kenilworth, 3 vols.	1 11 6
Rob Roy, 3 vols.	1 4 0	Pirate, 3 vols., ...	1 11 6
Tales of my Landlord, 3 series, 12 vols.	4 12 0	Fortunes of Nigel, 3 vols.	1 11 6
Monastery, 3 vols.	1 4 0	Peveril of the Peak, 4 vols.	2 2 0

The number of volumes is forty-six; the total of their prices, £10 16s. 6d.; and calculating the sale of each work to have been, on an average, twenty thousand, the amount paid by the public will have been ~~400~~ 500!

As the real name and character of this gifted and fortunate writer have hitherto been studiously concealed, it is not surprising that the public curiosity should have been greatly excited upon this point. Much, indeed, has been written, and more said; many arguments advanced, and many anecdotes told; in order to award to *one particular person* that large meed of praise, which is so justly due to the author of such fascinating compositions as the novels in question; but though a considerable mass of evidence, both external and internal, would seem to fix upon a great Northern Poet^x the *grievous charge* of having, for some years past, astonished and delighted the most lettered people in Europe; yet, as it is understood that he declines the honour proffered to him, and denies his being entitled to it, we are bound in common courtesy to *believe him*; and must conclude, that the surmises of the public have been hitherto erroneous, and wait with patience till time or accident shall disclose the secret.*

* In a conversation which we recollect to have had some time ago with the brilliant lady of one of our first philosophical characters, we urged it as an argument of

x *Walter Scott*
as a sacrifice to the public.

But whoever this "mighty unknown" may be, who thus, like his own black knight in *Ivanhoe*, voluntarily retires from the scene of his victory, without the guerdon of his valour, it cannot be doubted, that he stands the first on the list of those candidates for literary fame, who have tried their skill in the department of prose fictitious story. He may not, possibly, have imbued his works so copiously with the *peculiar* excellencies of some of our best English novelists, as they have confessedly done; nor rivalled Richardson in deep pathos, nor Fielding in genuine wit, nor Smollett in broad humour, nor Goldsmith in affecting simplicity; but, he has effected more than this, by combining, in his single compositions, the solitary characteristics of all his predecessors, in a degree approaching their highest reach; and by going far beyond them (individually and collectively) in exuberance

the novels not having been written by the Northern Bard, that the reputation which they had obtained would have tempted him to claim it, had it been his due. "No," said she, with equal elegance and point, "he is one of the few men in Europe who could afford to lose so much fame."

of invention, in power of description, and in the graces of composition. The extent of his graphic talents, as they regard external nature; and his deep and clear view of the human heart, and all its varied workings; are without an equal in the line of writing which has been his choice; and evince a taste as delicate as it is active, and an energy of penetration, and a nicety of discrimination, almost peculiarly his own. With respect to scenery of every kind, natural and artificial, he holds the pencil of the most accomplished master,—as sublime in his sketches, as he is exquisitely beautiful in his finished pictures: and when he peoples these with groupes or individuals, they are not only brought before the mind's eye with all the attributes, and in all the attitudes, of real nature, but are made to look, and speak, and act, with such truth, and strength, and vivacity, that the reader feels himself, as it were, identified with these imaginary agents; mingling in their society, partaking of their feelings, and busied in their transactions.*

* Such is the *witchery* of our author's works; so powerfully do they act upon the *imagination*, and interest the

Our author's claims to mastership in his art are not, however, founded exclusively on the excellencies to which we have hitherto adverted: "the great charm of his work" (as the Edinburgh Reviewer has well observed) "is derived from the kindness of heart, the "capacity of generous emotions, and the "lights of native taste, which he ascribes so "lavishly, and, at the same time, with such "an air of truth and familiarity, even to the "humblest of his favourites. There is no "keen or cold-blooded satire—no bitterness "of heart, or fierceness of resentment, in any

feelings, that it may well be doubted, whether those passages which are more immediately addressed to the *understanding* and *moral principle*, be not overlooked by many readers, in the delirium of an excited fancy. Where this is the case, the enjoyment of much sober gratification, and an opportunity of much mental improvement, are certainly lost: for, we are acquainted with no works of amusive fiction, so pregnant, as our author's volumes are, with sensible observations and wise reflections. A good code, indeed, of merely human ethics might be compiled from the moral aphorisms, useful axioms, and proverbial sayings, which he has drawn together, from all quarters, and from every age, combined with the valuable conclusions of his own mind; the results of a quick perception, and delicate moral tact, acting upon wide experience and comprehensive knowledge.

“part of his writings.” The eulogy is deserved to a great extent; for they are, with only one exception, the very transcripts of an amiable, kind, and benevolent mind; and display a curious and most striking contrast with the spirit and feeling, the colouring and character, of the equally extraordinary productions of his only British compeer in stretch of genius, and power of thought. The world of the Author of *Waverley*, with all its physical and moral imperfections, is, what it was originally pronounced to be, “very good;” illuminated with many gleams of sunshine, to gladden the heart, and with many spots of green, to delight the eye of man: while its inhabitant, though a weak and erring, and a wayward being, has still his capacities of goodness, and his redeeming virtues, the vestiges of that divine image in which he was at first created. The world of “*Childe Harold's*” poet, on the contrary, is little better than the primæval chaos, wrapped in palpable darkness, and composed of jarring and repulsive principles: and the human heart is a mass of “defecated evil,” swelling with the leaven of fierce passion, dis-

social feeling, and malignant selfishness. The *moral effect* likely to be produced, by these opposite characters of the literary productions of two of the most popular of our modern writers, is sufficiently obvious: while the latter is scattering around him the seeds of sullen discontent with all that is good, and great, and fair, in the heavens above, and on the earth beneath; and severing the knot which binds man to man in confidence, affection, and esteem; the former, more worthily employed, is inspiring gratitude for the blessings and beauties by which our nature is surrounded, and cheerfulness in the perception and enjoyment of them; and riveting and polishing every link in the common chain of sympathy and benevolence.*

* This superiority in the *moral effect* of the writings of the Author of Waverly, over the productions of his great rival in genius, is considerably heightened by that *purity* in sentiment, expression, and representation, which characterizes the Scotch Novels: and in which the works of the noble writer alluded to are so lamentably deficient. In the Scotch Novels nothing is found offensive to female modesty; nothing to excite dangerous passion, or corrupt the virtuous heart. They are written with the caution of a parent or guardian, anxious for the preservation of the moral feelings of his charge; and careful not to gratify

To form a competent estimate, however, of the character and merit of the Novels under consideration, it may be necessary to consider them somewhat *analytically*. We shall therefore venture a few remarks, of a *more particular* nature, on these literary productions : confining our observations to the *Scotch Novels*, upon which (as we conceive) rests chiefly the present popularity of their author, and will be founded his future fame.

While it must be allowed that this celebrated writer has been particularly fortunate, in having had natural scenery and moral agents presented to his pencil, of a highly picturesque, uncommon, and interesting description, we cannot withhold from him the praise of much judgment, in availing himself of these, in preference to more gaudy but less impressive subjects. He has wisely chosen to confine himself to those materials for his works, which his own native land afforded : and his patriotism has been well repaid, by those national

the curiosity, or delight the fancy, at the slightest risk of shaking the principles, or sullyng the innocence, of the youthful reader.

treasures, physical, moral, and intellectual, of which he has the merit of the first discovery, as well as of the most delightful application.

In the *Highlands* of Scotland, a country fresh from the mint of nature, unstamped by aught save her own everlasting characters, he found ample scope for the exercise of those powers of grand and terrific scenic description, with which he is so largely gifted : while among the pastoral scenery of its *Lowlands*, its vales, and its rivers' banks, his genius caught a milder inspiration, and embodied itself in representations, characterized alike by diversity of beauty, delicacy of touch, and mellowness of tint. It may be observed, also, that, associated with both these contrasted aspects of external nature, he met with circumstances, which would greatly aid the impression made upon the fancy by each, and give a peculiar force and vivacity to their respective delineations. The awful superstitions which hang among the Scotian mountains, like their own dark mists, mingle admirably with their "fantastic forms," to stir the imagination, and to invigorate the descriptive faculty : while the historical tra-

ditions, and popular legends, connected with every spot, and every ruin, in the more populous and civilized country of Southern Scotland, afford ample materials to rouse and elevate the mind of the writer, and to awaken, and interest, and gratify, the curiosity of the reader.

Nor was the author less happy in the *moral* peculiarities of his countrymen, from whom he has selected the *dramatis personæ* of his more popular novels. No people in the civilized world combine, in a higher degree, all that is original, and excellent, and striking, in national character, than the Scotch. From the circumstance of their detached local situation, which has preserved the mass of the people, in a great measure, from admixture and amalgamation with the more polished societies of mankind, their native simplicity of manners is still fresh and vigorous. Their frequent struggles for freedom within, and for national existence without, have generated among them a chivalric spirit, a high-toned but reflecting courage, an independence of mind, and an energy of feeling, not to be discovered in communities which have been less

exposed to political troubles, to intestine convulsions, and external dangers. Their system of *clanship*, also, though now faded to a shadow, has left a deep impression of its peculiarities on their modes of life, and habits of thought. A generally-diffused *education*,—useful, solid, and sufficiently extensive for all practical purposes,—has sharpened and polished their natural sagacity, enlarged their capacities of observation and reflection, and given a cast of *mind* to their most familiar intercourse ; while their *religion*, endeared to them by the conflicts which they have maintained, and the sufferings they have undergone for its preservation, forms a prominent feature in their character ; and, though of a stern and somewhat forbidding aspect, is, notwithstanding, more intimately identified with their feelings, and more strikingly developed in their conduct, than marks the operation of a milder system of faith on the sentiment and manners of their southern neighbours.

Rich and manifold, however, as these materials were, it required a searching and experienced eye to detect, and a master-hand

“to work them up,” and display them to the best advantage; nor does there seem to exist a natural appearance or a moral mode, a distinguishing external feature or a peculiarity in customs, habits, and notions, in his country, which the author has not unshrouded, appropriated, and brought forward in the most alluring or impressive forms.*

It may be admitted, possibly, that his *stories* are not woven with so much art, nor prepared with so much previous arrangement and care, as those of some of his predecessors. Still, however, they display considerable skill in their outline, (we refer exclusively, it must be remembered, to the Scotch Novels,) rare invention in their incidents, and peculiar ingenuity in “enlisting” historical fact “under the banner

* Additional evidences of the author's fine genius are afforded by those little poetical gems with which he has sprinkled his Novels. The rhythmical passages, also, placed at the head of most of his chapters, are evidently the productions of his own thought; and, while they shew a sweet vein of fancy, and a complete knowledge and command of what may be called the *doric* diction of our language, lead us to wish and hope, that he will, at some future time, try his powers in some extended work of the same interesting cast.

“ of imagination ;” * while the little inconsistencies or deficiencies, which may occasionally offend the taste of the sterner critic, are amply redeemed or made up by

A *spirit* which pervades the work throughout,
As that of Nature moves the world about.

Buckingham.

In the choice, also, both of the *scenes* of his incidents, and of his *epochs*, he has evinced the most solid judgment. Horace, long ago, had applauded such of the Roman poets as had chosen domestic occurrences, and more recent periods, for the subjects and times of the drama or Epos, in preference to foreign events and ancient themes :

“ Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca

“ Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta ;” †

and the same principle may be applied with equal propriety to the *historical novel* ; a species of prose writing, which approaches nearer than any other to theatrical and epic

* Darwin's Botanic Garden, advert. “ to enlist science
“ under the banner of imagination.”

† Daring their Grecian masters to forsake,

And for their themes domestic glories take.

Coleman's Translation, 421.

composition. Upon this passage of the Roman writer, the elegant Author of the "Notes on the Art of Poetry," has the following judicious remarks; the justice and force of which (*mutatis mutandis*) are admirably illustrated in the works we are now considering.

"This judgment of the poet recommending *domestic subjects* as fittest for the stage may be inferred from many obvious reasons. As, 1st, That it renders the drama infinitely more affecting; and this on many accounts. As a subject taken from our own annals must, of course, carry with it an air of greater probability than one borrowed from those of other nations; as we all find a personal interest in the subject; as it, of course, affords the best and easiest opportunities of catching our minds by frequent references to our manners, prejudices, and customs; and, as the writer himself, from an intimate acquaintance with the character and genius of his own nation, will be more likely to draw the manners with life and spirit.

"2dly. Next, which should ever be one great point in view, it renders the drama

“ more generally useful in its moral desti-
 “ nation. For, it being conversant about
 “ domestic acts, the great instruction of the
 “ fable more sensibly affects us; and the cha-
 “ racters exhibited, from the part we take in
 “ their good or bad qualities, will more pro-
 “ bably influence our conduct. I will only
 “ add, that for the more successful execution
 “ of this rule of celebrating domestic acts,
 “ much will depend *on the era* from whence
 “ the subject is taken. Times too remote
 “ have almost the same inconveniences, and
 “ none of the advantages, which attend the
 “ ages of Greece and Rome. And for those
 “ of later date, they are too much familiar-
 “ ized to us, and have not as yet acquired
 “ that venerable cast and air which tragedy
 “ demands, and age only can give. There
 “ is no fixing this point with precision. In
 “ the general, that æra is fittest for the writer’s
 “ purpose, which, though fresh enough in
 “ our minds to warm and interest us in the
 “ event of the action, is yet at so great a
 “ distance from the present times, as to have
 “ lost all those mean and disparaging circum-

'stances, which unavoidably adhere to recent
'deeds, and, in some measure, sink the noblest
'modern transactions to the level of ordinary
'life.'

Another Horatian rule to which our Author
as paid implicit attention, is the correct
elineation and judicious management of his
haracters and manners:

Respicere exemplar vitæ, morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatore, et veras hinc ducere voces.*

They are, indeed, the fac-similes of nature;
and not more remarkable for variety, than for
their rigid resemblance to the living moulds
from which they were cast. So true is he to
his great archetype, that, even when his plastic
imagery wantons most with strange situations and
improbable events, his *dramatis personæ* are
still the same actual existences as we have
acknowledged them to be under the most
natural circumstances. They never lose their
resemblance to beings of their own kind.
They are never divested of their individuality.

* ON NATURE'S PATTERN, too, I'll bid him look,
And copy manners from her living book.

Hor. Ar. Poet. Coleman's Translation.

They never swell into extravagance, or sink into insipidity ; but continue to be the same moral agents under every different aspect ; characterized by their specific differences ; marked by their individual peculiarities ; and animated by their respective and appropriate energies, from their original entrance to their final disappearance on the stage.

Servetur ad imum

Qualis ab incæpto processerit, et sibi constet.*

It must be acknowledged however, that although the above observations apply *generally*, they do not apply *universally* to the Scotch Novels ; since characters may be pointed out in some of them, which form exceptions to the author's usual excellence in moral painting, and fall far short of that pre-eminent power, with which he is wont to exercise his graphic faculty. It will be readily anticipated, that an allusion is made to the portraits of his *heroes*, and *heroines*, and his delineations of character in the *higher* walks

* Preserve it well ; continued as begun ;
True to itself in ev'ry scene, and one.

Hor. Ar. Poet. Coleman's translation.

of life. But this failure may, possibly, be accounted for, rather from the nature of the author's plan, than from any inability in the execution of it. Heroes and heroines, and exhibitions of courtly breeding, would be the last and least subjects in the contemplation of a writer, whose prime intention it was, to depict the strong and leading passions that actuate our common nature, which appear in their most vivid colours, and are traced in their most unsophisticated operation, only among the middling and lower orders of a people: and to pourtray the characteristic manners of a particular age or nation, which are only to be found in their native freshness, amid the subordinate classes of every community. It was the *ore*, for which our author sought, and not the manufactured *metal*, under its artificial and polished forms; and hence it is, that his heroes and heroines (with one or two brilliant exceptions) are by no means the most striking characters of his tales; but may be considered as *links*, connecting together different series of spirited adventures; rapid successions of admirable conversations;

and oft-recurring expositions of natural feeling, rather than as the hinges on which the main interest of his narratives depends. Specimens of refined breeding, also, are materials, which, it should seem, our author has not endeavoured nicely to develope. They are, in fact, materials not adapted to his vigorous pen. They do not exhibit those strong and undisguised workings of the human heart, which delight his fancy, and call forth his powers. Rounded and smoothed by the gentle but constant attrition of polished manners, they lose all those original irregularities of character, which discriminate individuals of more homely condition; and offer few subjects to the moral artist, save such as are dull, monotonous, and unimpassioned.

Such are the literary excellencies of the Author of *Waverley*; such the charms of his hitherto unequalled productions; and, delighted should we be to close our observations in the language of unqualified praise, and to quit them with the fine impression which dwells upon the mind, after the contemplation of a prospect of uniform sublimity

or beauty, into which nothing intrudes itself, to lower the tone of the imagination, or offend the delicacy of the taste. But, the stern duty remains of pointing out the *defects* of these master-pieces of composition; nor should we feel justified in leaving our plan so partial and incomplete, as not to animadvert on those points of reprehension in the Scotch Novels, which (in our estimation) are great in themselves, and especially dangerous, as to their probable effects, from the wide circulation, and the great popularity, which these remarkable works have obtained. We have no reference here to the faults or errors of mere composition; to evident marks of haste or negligence, which a little care would have prevented, or a single revision have corrected;* to accidental contradictions in description;

* A strong proof of the novels having been the work of one person, without the assistance, or even privity, of others, is, the frequent recurrence of the same emphatic word, either in the same sentence, or within a few lines of the sentence in which it had before appeared. Had the copy been submitted to any friend, or the proof sheets been read by any one but the author himself, we may venture to say, such a defect would not have appeared in the copy, or, at least, would have been corrected in the proof sheet.

and occasional incursions into the extravagant
or outré. It is not our wish

slight faults to find,
Where *nature* moves, and rapture warms the mind ;
Pope.

for they may well be accounted for and excused, from that inherent impetuosity of genius, which, while it hurries on to its end, overlooks or disdains all that is subordinate to its more lofty purposes ; but we advert to circumstances of *design* in the novels under consideration ; particulars which are manifestly the results of deliberation ; and to which no small degree of thought, care, and attention, has been evidently devoted. One of these we shall find an occasion of noticing more particularly hereafter ; but we cannot pass it over at present without the remark, that the manner in which our author has exhibited and treated the *Covenanters*, is utterly unjustifiable ; and almost induces us to retract the praise of philanthropy, which we have so willingly conceded to him in the earlier part of these observations. To hold up to odium or derision men, who, whatever their extravagances

might have been, were (for the most part) devout in their spirit, sincere in their professions, and exemplary in their lives, is an act neither generous nor dignified. The mistakes of a weak judgment are subjects of commiseration rather than of insult: the aberrations of a pious mind, and a good heart, have too much of sanctity about them to be treated with contempt.*

What though the men-
Of worldly minds have dared to stigmatize
The Sister Cause, Religion and the Law,
With superstition's name ! Yet, yet their deeds,
Their constancy in torture and in death,
These on tradition's tongue shall live—these shall
On hist'ry's honest page be pictur'd bright
To latest times.

Grahame's Sabbath.

Still more difficult would be the vindication of our accomplished author under another charge, which the perusal of his works imme-

* Upon other subjects our author is not deficient in sympathy. He can compassionate the misfortunes of the House of Stuart and its adherents, and, with a charity that almost stretches into partiality, throw a veil over their atrocious vices, while he represents their very questionable good qualities as the *constituent features* of characters, which the uncomplimentary page of history has exhibited as perfect examples of bigotry, cruelty, and moral and political profligacy.

diately and strikingly suggests to the mind,—the charge of *a want of due respect for Holy Writ*, manifested in his unreserved and perpetually-recurring use of scriptural quotations, not merely for the purpose of illustration, but for the far more unworthy ends of giving point to satire, seasoning to jest, and force to ridicule. Never were greater liberties taken with the word of God. Its most awful, affecting, and beautiful passages are pressed into the meanest services, enlisted on the coarsest occasions, and poured out from the unhallowed mouths of the most atrocious miscreants. So large, and, it must be allowed, so *appropriate* an use (as far as *strict application to character* goes) is made of them, that the inference necessarily forces itself upon the mind, of the author having carefully studied the pages of his bible, to discover every phrase and text which it afforded for peculiar adaptation to his characters and situations. That the use of scriptural quotations in works of fancy or fiction is allowable, cannot reasonably admit of a doubt; and many examples of their judicious and improving adoption might be

easily adduced ; but *it ought never to be forgotten, that they are justifiable, and likely to be productive of salutary moral effects, only when they are connected with sentiments, or situations, or characters, which awaken the good affections of the mind.* Mingling with the holy, or serious, or kind, or tender associations already excited, they may then animate piety, corroborate virtue, or increase benevolence ; but if identified with joke or derision, absurdity or vice, they are degraded from their high destinations ; they are robbed of their venerable character and impressive effect ; a portion of the ridicule called forth by their associates is directed against *them* ; and, vulgarized in the estimation of those who have found them in familiar intercourse with the ridiculous or the base, they soon cease to be regarded by them as revelations of points of faith, or divine rules of human conduct. It is admitted, that the acknowledgment or denial of the truth of these observations must entirely depend on the notions which we entertain of the *character of the Bible*. There are those, to whom the familiarity with which

it is treated in the present day, and more especially in the volumes before us, is not offensive. They see no harm in calling in its aid to heighten the zest of "a good thing," to increase the quaintness of humorous description, or to give verisimilitude to ridiculous characters. *This*, with them, is among the *popular uses* of the bible ; and to this purpose it may be legitimately applied. But there are also those (and we trust no small number) who regard "the word of God" in a far different light ; and to whom such freedoms with it give the severest pain. *They* view it as the best blessing and most holy possession which man enjoys ; his comfort and support ; his guide in faith, and rule of conduct ; his lamp on earth, and his passport to heaven. *They* consider its riches, like the treasury of the temple, as set apart from all profane uses, and dedicated exclusively to sacred ones ; and regard the sacred volume as the "ark of the covenant," not to be touched by unsanctified hands.

It will be said, perhaps, that by thus prohibiting the adoption of scriptural phraseology

in humorous composition, or on ludicrous occasions, we denounce a considerable portion of our earlier and later lighter literature; and that, had the Author of *Waverley* written under such a restriction, the pervading spirit of his works, the soul of his narratives, and the very life-blood of his characters, would have been wanting. Doubtless this must have been the consequence; but we have no hesitation in saying, that we are prepared to make such a sacrifice on such an altar: and when we take into account what is lost to the *heart*, in the gratification of the *fancy*, among individuals; and how much the authority of, and the veneration for, the holy scriptures, is weakened with the public at large, from this licentious use of biblical passages by popular writers; we are not afraid to add, that we could wish such productions of mere human genius had never existed, rather than that effects so fatal to private and public good feeling should have been produced. We would relinquish *much*, rather than be despoiled of *our all*; nor can we consider THE BIBLE as less than our all, when we look to it (for so it ought to be

viewed) as the only basis on which stands the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, "that pillar of society, "that safeguard of nations, that parent of "social order, which alone has power to curb "the fury of the passions, and to secure to "every one his rights; to the laborious, the "reward of their industry; to the rich, the "enjoyment of their wealth; to nobles, the "preservation of their honours; and to "princes, the stability of their thrones."—
Robert Hall.

Illustrations, &c.

Ivanhoe.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER in which we propose to illustrate the Novels by the Author of Waverley, requires that we should commence with IVANHOE; which, though it be far down in the list of those works, in point of publication, is still, with respect to epoch, the first upon the roll. The reason which the author alleges, (in his dedicatory epistle to this novel) for carrying his readers six hundred years back, into the obscure ages of romance and chivalry, is, “that he may obtain an interest for the traditions and manners of Old England, similar to that which has been excited in behalf of our poorer and less

“celebrated neighbours.” But, he has failed in his intention ; and from causes sufficiently obvious. The long period of time which has elapsed since the date of the story, and the great change which has taken place in the customs and habits of the country during the interval, prevent the reader from identifying himself with the characters and incidents placed before him. He feels nothing within, and sees nothing without, that is in common with either. He finds himself a mere spectator of the play, and not an actor in it : and, however his imagination may have been excited, while he kept his eye upon the stage, the impression vanishes with the falling of the curtain ; and no recollections remain upon his mind, but indistinct images of portraits, whose originals have disappeared for ages ; and of forms of life whose vestiges are now no where to be traced. He finds nothing in the narrative which “comes home to his own business and bosom ;” nothing to call forth that sympathy, which can be awakened, only, by beings influenced by the same motives, and occupied in the same pursuits with himself, and

by circumstances, in which he may conceive himself, by some possibility, to be engaged. The *diction*, also, is against the effect of the work : being foreign to the æra to which it is adapted, and not analogous to modern forms of speech. The object was to adopt the pure English idiom—

“ Words that wise Bacon, or great Raleigh spake ;”

but this cast of language is not uniformly kept up, even in the colloquial parts of the work, where alone it is attempted ; and being rejected in the narrative for the modern idiom, an incongruity of style is produced, unpleasant in itself, and destructive of that illusion, which gives to the past the air of the present. Notwithstanding these faults, however, this novel is a work of super-eminent talent, and mighty power. Of all the author's productions, it is the most glittering, spirited, and busy ; and we may add, most learned also ; since it manifests a deep research into English antiquarianism ; an accurate knowledge of the *costume* of the Saxon and feudal ages ; and a familiarity, quite surprising, with the domestic habits of people and times which are now

nearly forgotten. The situations and descriptions are all interesting and animated : the dialogues appropriate and well supported : and the characters, if not rigid copies of beings which have once existed, carry with them the most satisfactory *air* of resemblance. *Richard*, without dispute, is the *real* hero of the story; with all the hardihood of body and mind, complexional generosity, impetuosity in action, and recklessness of consequences, ascribed to him by historians : contrasted with whose life and vigour, the *nominal* hero, *Ivanhoe*, makes but a dull and uninteresting figure. The same unfavourable impression of “ the “ Lady Rowena ” is produced by the opposition of Rebecca’s character to that of the high-born Saxon damsel. There is something *generally* insipid in Cedric’s ward; and the air of haughtiness and reserve thrown around her renders her *particularly* repelling. But the Jewess is a sketch of unrivalled excellence : she is the *beau ideal* of all that is great, and good, and fair, in female nature : and though, perhaps, too “ faultless ” to have ever been seen by the world in actual existence, may be con-

sidered as a striking, though adorned representation of that sex, which combines firmness with feeling, energy with endurance, and delicacy with tenderness, in a degree exclusively its own. Wamba "uses his folly like a "stalking horse, and under the presentation "of that shoots his wit:" it must be acknowledged, that his quiver is not abundantly provided with this intellectual weapon ; but the deficiency is largely made up, by some fine touches of feeling, and traits of noble principle, which occasionally burst forth from his fantastic but honest nature. Gurth is a rough diamond ; and an excellent copy of what we may fairly suppose the Anglo-Saxon serf of the 12th century to have actually been : and the pride of the higher ecclesiastics, and the insolence, ignorance, and licentiousness of the Norman Barons, are described with great spirit, and in perfect conformity to the recorded accounts of that distant age. Were we required to point out those parts of the work, which, in our judgment, evince the greatest talent, we should refer to the scene between Richard and Friar Tuck, at the cell of " the

“ clerk of Copmanhurst,” as affording an example of the happiest humour; to that between Rebecca and Ivanhoe, in the Castle of Torquilstone, during the progress of the assault, as inspiring the most breathless impatience; and to the trial of the fair Jewess, as most impregnated with pathos and interest.

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE *Conquest* of our country by the Normans must be acknowledged (however paradoxical the suggestion may appear to be) to have been an event of great *advantage* to England. The condition of our island, at the time of its occurrence, political, moral, and intellectual, was deplorable; and, destitute of the means of renovation from within, required some external application, to restore the spirit, and energy, and virtues of a people, which, however conspicuously they might have shone in earlier times, were now nearly extinguished. “ At that period,” says a very enlightened

modern historian, " the Anglo-Saxons, ori-
 "ginally the fiercest nation of the predatory
 "North, had become changed into a submissive
 "and unwarlike people, by the united influ-
 "ences of property and luxury, of a great
 "landed aristocracy, and a richly endowed
 "hierarchy. But their condition was rather
 "degeneracy than civilization. Their sove-
 "reigns were men of feeble minds ; their
 "nobles, factious and effeminate ; the clergy,
 "corrupt and ignorant ; the people, servile
 "and depressed. All the venerated forms of
 "the Saxon institutions existed, but their
 "spirit had evaporated. They had still their
 "wittena-gemote ; their eorles, ealdermen,
 "thegns, and gerefas ; their gilds and borhs,
 "their shire-gemots, hundreds, tythings, and
 "wapentakes ; their payments to their lords
 "were fixed and definite ; their burghs were
 "increasing in population ; their freedmen were
 "multiplying ; and their lands were subject to
 "the ferd, or military expedition, an effective
 "obligation for the national defence. But,
 "amid all these means of prosperity, an intel-
 "lectual torpidity had, since the days of Ath el-

“ stan, pervaded the country. Canute had,
 “ indeed, impressed a new feature of grandeur
 “ and energy on the aspect of the court ; but
 “ his example was solitary and transient ; his
 “ children and successors had disgraced his
 “ name ; and after his death, the Anglo-Saxons
 “ sank into a lethargic and sensual state. Their
 “ slothful and illiterate clergy imbibed and
 “ augmented the general degradation ; and the
 “ finest island of Europe was becoming the
 “ residence of a debased, divided, and ignorant
 “ people. England was slumbering in this
 “ declining state, when the Norman conquest,
 “ like a moral earthquake, suddenly shook its
 “ polity and population to the centre : broke
 “ up and hurled into ruin all its ancient aristo-
 “ cracy ; annihilated its corrupt habits ; kindled
 “ a vigorous spirit of life and action in all the
 “ classes of its society ; and raised from the
 “ mighty ruins, with which it overspread the
 “ country, that new and great character of
 “ government, clergy, nobility, and people,
 “ which the British history has never ceased to
 “ display.”*

* Sharpe Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. 56.

The constitutional changes effected by this great event, were, indeed, very considerable, and the political evils attendant on them continued to be felt by the conquered people, till, by the wisdom of succeeding monarchs, or their own persevering struggles, these evils were gradually mitigated, or finally destroyed.

"The first of the alterations introduced at the conquest," says Blackstone,* "was the separation of the ecclesiastical courts from the civil; effected in order to ingratiate the new king with the popish clergy, who, for some time before, had been endeavouring all over Europe to exempt themselves from the secular power;" and whose success, we may add, in their attempt, produced, for a time, by their ambition and tyranny, their pride and bigotry, their vice and insolence, more confusion and misery in society, more trouble to the ruler, and wretchedness to the people, than any other domination which mankind has hitherto witnessed. "Another violent alteration of the English constitution," effected by the conquest, "consisted in the

* Vol. iv. 414, et infra.

“ depopulation of whole countries, for the
 “ purposes of the king’s royal diversion; and
 “ subjecting both them, and all the ancient
 “ forests of the kingdom, to the unreasonable
 “ severities of forest laws, imported from the
 “ continent, whereby the slaughter of a beast
 “ was made almost as penal as the death of
 “ a man.”

“ A third alteration in the English laws
 “ was, by narrowing the remedial influence of
 “ the county courts, the great seats of Saxon
 “ justice, and extending the *original* juris-
 “ diction of the king’s justiciars to all kinds of
 “ causes, arising in all places.”

“ A fourth innovation was the introduction
 “ of *trial by combat*, for the decision of all
 “ civil and criminal questions of fact, in the
 “ last resort : the immemorial practice of all
 “ the northern nations:” but first reduced to
 regular and stated forms among the Burgundi,
 about the close of the fifth century ; and from
 thence adopted by the Franks and Normans.

“ But the last and most important altera-
 “ tion, both in our civil and military polity,
 “ was the engrafting on all landed estates, a few

"only excepted, the fiction of *feodal tenure*,
 "which drew after it a numerous and oppres-
 "sive train of servile fruits and appendages;
 "aids, reliefs, primer seizins, wardships,
 "marriages, escheats, and fines for alienation:
 "the genuine consequences of the maxim
 "then adopted, that all the lands in England
 "were derived from, and holden, mediately
 "or immediately, of the Crown." The regu-
 lations of *feodal tenure*, however, did not
 attach exclusively to the demesnes held directly
 from the monarch, but applied also to those
 portions of the great possessions which William
 had bestowed upon his followers, and which
 they had granted to their immediate depend-
 ents.* These subfeudatories or vassals were
 precisely in the same situation to their own

* It appears, from Domesday book, that William, in the
 distribution of the territory of England, retained in his
 own possession 1422 manors, exclusive of a multitude of
 chaces, parks, forests, &c. His grants, however, to his
 distinguished and favourite followers, were enormous.
 For example; to Robert Earl of Montague, 973 manors.
 To Odo Bishop of Bayeux, 439. To Hugh De Abrancis,
 the county of Chester. To Allen of Britany, 442. To
 William de Warrenna, 298. To William de Percy, 119
 &c. See Kelham's Key to Domesday Book; and Henry's
 History of England, vol. vi. 11.

liege lord, as that in which he stood towards the king; and from them the baron exacted similar homage, services, and payments, which he himself was bound to render to his royal master.*

But notwithstanding these violent and radical changes in the previous constitution

* The principles of feudal tenure appear to have been in operation in England during the Anglo-Saxon period; though they had not been formed into a *regular system* previously to the Conquest. Their recognition is manifested in the terms on which all the proprietors of land (except the clergy) held their estates in our country, during the ages immediately preceding William's invasion. These conditions were included under the obligation called the *trinoda necessitas*, which consisted of, 1st, an obligation on the Thane and his followers to attend the King in his military expeditions; 2dly, to assist in building and defending the castles belonging to the King; and 3dly, to repair and preserve the highways and bridges. To this was added, by the laws of Canute, a fourth imposition on the landholders, called a *heriot*, which obliged the representative of a deceased Earl or Thane to pay to the King a certain sum, proportioned to the wealth of the late proprietor, together with the horse and arms which had belonged to him. That these may be called feudal prestations, says Dr. Henry, and considered as a proof that the feudal form was not altogether unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, need not be disputed. But to these William added so many others, that he may be justly said to have completed, if not to have erected, the fabric of the feudal government in Britain.

and political condition of the Anglo-Saxons, in consequence of the Norman conquest, the general character of the country (as has been before hinted) was speedily improved, and its rank among the nations eventually raised, by that event. Literature was revived, commerce extended, and manners civilized. Many of the elegancies of life, to which the Anglo-Saxons had been hitherto strangers, were introduced, and the seeds of useful and ornamental manufactures were sown; and a race of warlike and active princes ascended the English throne, in the room of the torpid rulers who (with the exception of Canute and Harold) had slept upon it, for many years, previously to William's acquisition of the kingdom.

The Conqueror himself did much in rescuing the English from their degraded state. His first measures, after his coronation, were directed by sound and enlightened policy; conciliating conduct towards his subjects, an impartial administration of the laws, a special attention to the protection and improvement of commerce, and an identification of the Norman and English interests, by encouraging

marriages between the two people. Untoward
 circumstances, it is true, afterwards produced
 misunderstanding between William and his
 English subjects; rebellion on their part, and
 cruelty on his; but still the growth of national
 improvement continued; the power of England
 became more respectable in the eyes of sur-
 rounding nations; its church threw off a
 slavish submission to Papal pride; its hie-
 rarchy exhibited many examples of learning,
 remarkable for the then state of literature;
 and its code of laws was rendered more sys-
 tematic, and less confused and barbarous than
 heretofore. “ The Norman conquest (remarks
 “ Mr. Turner) was, therefore, no abridgment
 “ of the liberties of England; on the contrary,
 “ it established a powerful and active aristocracy,
 “ which was strong enough, at times, even to
 “ give the law to its Sovereign. It promoted
 “ the emancipation of the servile, and it pro-
 “ tected the privileges of the free. It gave a
 “ new spring and spirit to the national mind.
 “ All the torpor, debility, and degradation of
 “ sensuality and sloth, without literature, arts,
 “ or laudable pursuits, and all the factions

"and vices of a corrupted aristocracy, and a
 "debased clergy—had enervated the Anglo-
 "Saxon intellect; were precluding its improve-
 "ment, and palsying the operation of the wise
 "institutions of Alfred and his forefathers. A
 "new race of men was spread over the whole
 "island, with a peculiar principle actuating
 "every one to excellence. This was that love
 "of glory, which made every Norman mind
 "restless, till it had acquired personal improve-
 "ment, and personal distinction. The wealth
 "and situation of England opened new avenues
 "to fame, and drew from all parts of Europe
 "the most aspiring and the most able, to get
 "honours and profit. A new creative vigour
 "appeared afterwards in every path of human
 "merit. Activity and emulation became the
 "characterizing qualities of the nation; and
 "the different classes, attaching themselves
 "to various pursuits, infused the spirit, and
 "enlarged the boundaries, of improvement in
 "all."* William (surnamed Rufus) the third
 son of the Conqueror, (for to Robert, his
 eldest son, the dukedom of Normandy had been

* "Turner, 105, 106.

given, and Richard, his second son, was killed by a stag in the New Forest) succeeded his father in the throne of England; but inherited neither his wisdom, nor his steady greatness.* No marked alteration for the better in the general state of England characterizes his reign, though the seeds of national improvement sown by the Conqueror were gradually but silently unfolding themselves. His extension of the forest law, indeed, to inflictions of the most cruel and disproportioned description, go far towards branding Rufus as a tyrant; but the charge is, in some measure, balanced by the encouragement which he afforded to the rising spirit of

* The old metrical chronicler Robert of Gloucester has given an anecdote of Rufus, very characteristic of his childish vanity, or insane extravagance. Divested of its obsolete orthography, it is as follows :

As his chamberlain him brought, as he arose one day,
The morrow for to wear a pair of hose of say,
He ask'd what they cost him? Three shillings the other said,
Fy a dibles! quoth the King. Who says so vile a deed?
A King wear any cloth, but what should cost him more;
Buy a pair of a mark, or yen shall rue it sore!
A worse pair full enough the other sith him bought,
And said they cost a mark, and therefore so were brought.
A bel Amy, quoth the King, these are now well bought;
In this manner serve thou me, or thou shalt serve me not.

chivalry and knight-errantry; a system, which, in an age of comparative ignorance, rudeness, and precarious submission to law, had the most direct tendency to meliorate the manners of those who felt its influence: and to inspire them with sentiments of *prowess*, *generosity*, *gallantry*,* and *religion*.†

Henry I. (the youngest son of the Conqueror) was a scholar and a statesman. The title of *Beauclerc* evinces his claim to the former character; and that of the “*Lion of Justice*”‡ marks his regard to those sacred obligations of law and equity, the public observance of which

* The admixture of the love of ladies with the passion for martial adventure, in the system of chivalry, had the happy effects, of raising the females to their due elevation and influence in society, and of softening, while it inspired, the hearts of the rougher sex :

It hath been through all ages ever seen,
That with the praise of arms and chivalry
The prize of beauty still hath joined been,
And that for reason's special privy:
For either doth on other much rely;
For HE mee seems most fit the fair to serve,
That can her best defend from villany:
And SHE most fit his service doth deserve,
That fairest is, and from her faith will never swerve.

Spenser, b. iv. c. 5.

† See Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, passim.

‡ Joan. Saris. *Chronicon*.

constitutes the surest bond of social happiness and order. It is not the least of his praise, also, that, in an age of military ardour, he preferred the noiseless blessings of peace to the dazzling glories of successful war; and instead of barbarizing his people, and exhausting his country, by uncertain efforts to extend his dominions, increased their individual security, and enhanced their political comfort, by re-establishing a great portion of the laws of Edward the Confessor; and granting to his subjects a *charter*, which recognized many of their ancient rights, and added several valuable institutions to the existing code of national law.*

The worst action of Henry was the treatment of his brother Robert; imprisoning him, and when he attempted to escape, putting out his eyes. Hollingshed's account of Robert's death is somewhat singular and affecting.

* He made (according to our Norman author) the good laws of England; but, the truth is, he abolished the hard and rigorous statutes which had been established by his father and his brother, and restored those much more equal, and better suited to the tempers of the people, which were in force in the days of the Confessor.

. “It is sayde that, on a festival day, King
 “ Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape
 “ whereof being strayed, hee rent it in striving
 “ to put it over hys heade ; and perceyving it
 “ would not serve him, he layed it aside, and
 “ sayde, Let my brother Robert have this gar-
 “ ment, who hath a sharper head than I have.
 “ The which when it was brought to Duke
 “ Robert, the rent place not being sewed up,
 “ he discovered it, and asked whether any
 “ man had worn it before. The messenger
 “ told the whole matter ; how it happened,
 “ Hereupon Duke Robert tooke such a greefe,
 “ for the scornful mocke of his brother, that
 “ he waxed wearie of his life, and sayde, Nowe
 “ I perceyve I have lived too long, that my
 “ brother shall clothe me like his almes-man
 “ with his cast rent garments. And thus
 “ cursing the time of his nativity, refused from
 “ thenceforth to eate or drink, and so pined
 “ away, and was buried at Gloucestre.”—Hol.
 Chron. v. 2. fol. 363.

Henry, who lost his son by shipwreck,
 had, after this catastrophe, secured, as he
 conceived, the peaceable possession of his

sceptre to his daughter Matilda: but the mean treachery of the nobility, and higher ecclesiastics, transferred it, on his decease, into the hands of the bold usurper Stephen; who, under the illegal claim of being a grandson of the Conqueror, by his daughter Adela and the Earl of Blois, asserted, with his sword, his right to the crown. Possessions acquired by injustice are rarely enjoyed in peace; and Stephen's reign was a period of warfare, tumult, and confusion; of relaxation in the laws, and corruption in the manners, of the country; of painful vicissitude to himself, and wretchedness to his subjects. Matilda invaded his realm; Stephen was defeated, dethroned, made captive, and fettered:* exchanged for the Earl of Gloucester, restored to his crown: again invaded by Henry, the son of Matilda; again obliged to fight for his sovereignty, and might again have been despoiled of it, had not a mediation been effected between the contending parties, by which it was settled, that Stephen should enjoy an undisputed crown as long as he

* Will. Malm. p. 17.

lived, and that Henry should succeed to it, on his decease.*

“ The usurper Stephen,” (Blackstone remarks,) “ as the manner of usurpers is, “ promised much at his accession, especially “ with regard to redressing the grievances of “ the forest laws, but performed no great “ matter, either in that, or in any other point. “ It is from his reign, however, that we are to “ date the introduction of the Roman civil “ laws into the realm; and at the same time “ was imported the doctrine of appeals to the “ court of Rome, as a branch of the canon “ law.†” To which we may add the observa-

* The usurper was not without his virtues, and had he been differently circumstanced, (and how many men are the creatures of circumstances!) they might have expanded into a character great and good. Stowe says, that he was a man of passing comely features and personage; he also excelled in martial policy, gentleness, and liberality towards all men; and though his reign was disturbed by continual wars, yet did he never burden his Commons with any heavy exactions; so that he only wanted a just title to the crown, to secure him the character of an excellent and worthy king.

† This incorporation of the Roman law with the body of English jurisprudence was occasioned by an accidental discovery of a copy of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalfi in Italy, about the year 1130.

‡ Black. Com. vol. iv. 421.

tions of Mr. Turner, “that the divine wisdom,
 “which is always seeking to convert our vices
 “and follies to good and salutary issues, made
 “even the calamities of this reign productive of
 “important benefits to the country. By weak-
 “ening the military power of England, they
 “divested the succeeding sovereign of those
 “abundant means of warlike aggression, which
 “so often tempt youthful monarchs to disturb
 “other nations with war, and which had ex-
 “cited the mind of Rufus to the extravagant
 “projects which his death intercepted. By
 “consuming the possessions, and destroying
 “the families, of the great barons, and by
 “introducing in their stead a numerous and
 “motley host of knight adventurers, from all
 “parts, who obtained ample divisions of the
 “landed property of the country, England
 “became filled with a multitude of less potent
 “proprietors, whose existence prevented the
 “mischiefs of an overgrown turbulent aristo-
 “cracy, and whose independence protected
 “the growing liberties of the nation. The
 “devastations of the contending parties, who
 “spared none, who despised the higher orders

“ of the clergy for their political venality, and
 “ plundered the ecclesiastical possessions every
 “ where with eagerness, because the booty was
 “ ample, broke the spell of superstition, which
 “ in other countries was slavishly subjecting
 “ the popular mind.”*

The long reign of Henry II. (the son of Matilda, and great grandson of the Conqueror†) was productive of various and important improvements in the civil, political, and social condition of the English nation. Equally attached to letters and to peace, the encouragement and growth [of science, civilization, commerce, and literature, of all that renders a country respectable or great, would have been the chief objects of Henry’s rule, had not the difficulties, perplexities, and dangers, in which he was involved by his quarrel with Thomas a Becket, called off his attention, from calmer and more useful pur-

* History of England, vol. i. page 183.

† A trifling mistake has befallen the Author of *Tranhoe*, with respect to the descent of John, whom he states to have been the *grandson* of Rufus; whereas he was not lineally descended from that prince, but stood in the relation of grand-nephew to him.—*Tranhoe*, vol. i. p. 152.

suits, to measures of defence against his ambitious adversary, or to schemes for his annoyance and destruction. The assassination of the obnoxious Archbishop by the mistaken loyalty of four of the Barons of his household (REGINALD FITZ-URSE, WILLIAM DE TRACY, HUGO DE MOREVILLE, and RICHARD BRYTO) excited, perhaps unjustly, a general indignation against Henry throughout Europe, and a deep feeling of resentment amongst his subjects; which neither his humiliation at the tomb of the martyr, nor his conquest of Ireland, nor his preparations for a crusade, could effectually obliterate. His private peace, also, was destroyed by the revenge of Queen Eleanor on his criminal intercourse with the "fair Rosamond;"* by the disobedience and rebel-

* One of the most remarkable anecdotes relative to this king is his love to Rosamond, the fair daughter of Walter Lord Clifford; "for whom," says Stow, "he made a house of wonderful working, so that no person could come to her, unless he were instructed by the king, or such as were acquainted with the secret. This house, after seen, was named Labyrinthus, or Dædalus Work, which was thought to be constructed like unto a knot in a garden, called a maze." It is said that the Queen, her professed enemy, gained admission by a clue of thread or silk, and either by poison, or some other fatal

lion of his three eldest sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, (frustrated only by the death of Henry, the oldest of the unnatural children;) and by the cruel necessity of his permitting Richard to receive the fealty of all his subjects, both in France and England. But the death-blow to his breaking heart was given by the information of his youngest and favourite son, John, having engaged in rebellious practices against him. From that moment his fortitude forsook him: he heaped imprecations on his

method, caused her death. Henry was greatly affected with her loss; and caused her to be honourably interred at Godstow, near Oxford, in a house of nuns, and these verses were put upon her tomb:

*Hic jacet in tumba, Rosa Mundi, non rosa munda,
Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.*

Which we find in Fabian thus translated, or rather paraphrased:

*The rose of the world, but not the cleane flowre,
Is now here graven, to whom beaute was lent,
In this grave full darke now is her bowre,
That by her life was sweet and redolent;
But now that she is from this life bent,
Though she were sweete, now foully doth she stinke,—
A mirror good for all men that on her thinke.*

There is yet to be seen at Godstow, the chapel where it is said that she was buried, and these verses are written upon the wall in the inside of the same.—*Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, page 13.

graceless offspring, fell into a low fever, and soon after expired. Speed observes, “ fear-
 “ ful was the speech which King Henry, when
 “ he abandoned Mentz by reason of the fire,
 “ uttered against Richard; which was, that,
 “ Sith he had taken from him that day the
 “ thing that he most loved in this world, he
 “ would requite him; for, after that day, he
 “ would deprive him of that thing which in
 “ him should best please a child, to wit, his
 “ heart. But, after the peace concluded (upon
 “ mediation) between the sides, another thing
 “ stricke nearer; for finding the name of his
 “ sonne John first in the catalogue of the
 “ conspirators against him in that action, hee
 “ bitterly cursed the houre of his birth, laying
 “ God’s curse and his upon his sonnes, which
 “ hee would never recall for any persuasions
 “ of the bishops and others; but comming
 “ to Cherion, fell there grievously sicke, and
 “ feeling death approach, hee caused himself
 “ to be borne into the church before the altar,
 “ where, after humble confession and sorrow
 “ for his sinnes, he departed this life.”*

* History of Great-Britaine, page 479.

But neither the public disturbances of this reign, nor the private distresses of the monarch, checked the growth of national improvement. “Much,” says Judge Blackstone, “was done “to methodize the laws, and reduce them into “a regular order ;” and four institutions may be especially mentioned, as affording relief to the subject from the pressure of previous evils, and rendering their attainment of right and justice more expeditious and secure. “1st, “The constitutions of the Parliament at Clarendon, A. D. 1164, whereby the King “checked the power of the Pope and his “clergy, and greatly narrowed the total exemption which they claimed from the secular “jurisdiction. 2d, The institution of the office “of justices in eyre (*in itinere*), the King “having divided the kingdom into six circuits, “(a little different from the present,) and commissioned these new-created judges to administer justice, and try writs of assize, in “the several counties. These remedies are “said to have been then first invented ; before which all causes were usually terminated “in the county courts, according to the Saxon

“ custom, or before the King’s justiciaries in
 “ the *Aula Regis*, in pursuance of the Norman
 “ regulations. The latter of which tribunals
 “ travelling about with the King’s person, occa-
 “ sioned intolerable expense and delay to the
 “ suitors. 3d, The introduction and esta-
 “ blishment of the grand assize, or trial by a
 “ special kind of jury in a writ of right, at
 “ the option of the tenant or defendant, in-
 “ stead of the barbarous Norman trial by battle.
 “ 4th, To this time, also, must be referred the
 “ introduction of *escuage*, or pecuniary com-
 “ mutation for personal military service; which,
 “ in process of time, was the parent of the
 “ ancient subsidies granted to the crown by
 “ Parliament, and of the *land-tax* of later
 “ times.”*

The love of arms and military glory, and
 the spirit of desperate adventure, which were
 the characteristics of Richard the First, the
 “ lion-hearted” son of Henry the Second,
 forbid us to look for much improvement in
 the political or civil condition of the English

* Vol. iv. 221. See also Henry’s Hist. of England,
 vol. vi. 59.

nation during his short and dazzling career. Occupied in the wild pursuits of a crusade in Palestine, or confined in a prison in Germany for the greater part of his reign, (only eight months of which he spent in England,) he had little time to devote to the internal concerns of his country; and when he returned from his captivity, the disturbances excited at home by the treachery and rebellion of his brother John, and the confusion occasioned in his foreign dominions by the baseness of Philip of France,* effectually precluded all personal

* Earle John, being (by the cunning inveigling and suggestions of his brother's professed foes) not only put out of all hope of Richard's releasement, but also incensed against him for intending the crown for his nephew Arthur, entered into an unbrotherly attempt against his sovereign lord; the somme whereof take in the words of Thomas of Walsingham, who saith, that John with promises alluring many to him through the whole kingdome, did carefully and speedily fortifie his holds in England, and passing the seas entered into league with the king of the French, that he might utterlie put his nephew Arthur Duke of Britaine from that hope which the Britaines had conceived of his promotion. The Normans not giving any way to his disloyall practices, he swears fealty to Philip King of France, (his brother's most mortal enemy,) and also that he would take to wife the Lady Alice, King Philip's sister, (though polluted by his owne father,) and for that cause rejected by King Richard. Philip being certainly adver-

endeavours, on the part of Richard, after civil or political improvement. Had he fallen on less evil times, or had his energy been directed to the arts of peace instead of military pursuits, it is probable that he would have obtained more solid and lasting fame by his domestic ordinances and regulations, than he has secured to himself by his deeds in war; for he was not deficient in natural talent, political wisdom, or elegant taste. Instances are on record of his prompt and well-applied wit. The code of maritime laws which he compiled at the island of *Oleron*, and which are received by the nations of Europe as the ground and substruction of all their marine constitutions, evince a comprehension of mind not to have been looked for in so chivalric a character;* his equalization of weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and his directions to the justices of his forests, are very creditable

tized, that the Emperor and King Richard were agreed, (for Richard's release,) he sends over to Earle John, bidding him *looke to himselfe, for the devell was now loose*. He thereupon crossed over the seas to Philip, who excited him to usurp the kingdom of England.—*Speed's Hist.*, 488.

* *Black. Com.* i. 418.

to him; and the poetical productions of the royal knight errant, which are still preserved to us, exhibit traits of feeling honourable to his heart, and proofs of a taste for poesy full as delicate as that which marks the effusions of his contemporary Troubadours.*

JOHN, (the light, fickle, and unprincipled brother and successor of Richard I.) who lost Normandy, and laid his crown at the feet of the Pope,† would have effectually checked the advance of England in the estimation of foreign states, and in internal amelioration, had not the barons, irritated by public disgrace, and private wrongs, wrung from the “hard consent” of the degraded king, those two memorable deeds of freedom, MAGNA CHARTA, and the CHARTA DE FORESTA: the first defining and extending the general rights of the subject; the other mitigating the severity of a

* Dobson's Hist. Troubadours, p. 22.

† *John.* Thus I have yielded up into your hand
The circle of my glory.

Pand. Take again,
From this my hand, as holding of the Pope,
Your sovereign greatness and authority.
Shakespeare.

system of laws which pressed with intolerable weight upon the community.

Then justice fearless rais'd her decent head,
Heal'd ev'ry wound, each wrong redress'd :
While round her valiant squadrons stood,
And bade her awful tongue demand,
From vanquish'd John's reluctant hand,
The DEEDS of FREEDOM purchas'd with their blood.

By the first of these charters, the following important rights were recognized as vested in all those orders of the people of England which were *free* ; for a long period elapsed before the servile conditions of the community were raised to an equal enjoyment of the benefit and protection of the laws with this more fortunate and privileged class :—Subjects were not to be taxed, except in certain determined cases, and then to be taxed moderately. All freemen to have the benefit of trial by jury. That there should be a fixed legal tribunal. That trials should be fair, and judgments impartial. That there should be county assizes held. That London, and all other cities, burghs, towns, and ports, should have their liberties and free customs confirmed to them. That feudal services and crown exac-

tions should be confined to the limits expressed in the charter. That wills and administration of personal property should be allowed. That fines for offences should be moderate and just. That earls and barons should be fined by their peers, and according to the nature of their offence. That heirs should be protected in their inheritance. That widows should be protected in their jointure and dower. That lands were not to be seized for debts, if there were sufficient goods. That sureties were to be protected, while the debtor was able to pay. That the widow's dower was not to be answerable for the debts of the deceased; nor the necessary support of the children to be taken for the payment of the same. That there should be one uniform measure and weight throughout the whole kingdom. That the ingress and egress of all merchants should be free and uninterrupted; but that foreign ones, when their countries were at war with England, might be arrested, till it was known how the English merchants were treated in the alien country. That every one might leave the realm and return, saving his allegiance; except

in time of war, and excepting prisoners and outlaws, and merchants of a country at war with England.*

By the *Charta de Foresta*, the following were the most important reliefs which the subject obtained from the oppressive burthen of forest law.

1st. A disafforestation of all the lands thrown into forest by Henry I.

2d. An exemption of those who dwelt *without* the boundaries of a forest, from attending its courts.

6th. A prohibition of various impositions of forest offices.

11. A mitigation of the punishment for stealing deer, from the loss of life and limb to imprisonment for a year and a day.

12. A permission for every archbishop; bishop, earl, or baron, passing through a forest to court, to take one or two deer, either before the forester, if he be present, or on blowing a horn, if he be absent.

15th. A prohibition of exactions for the carriage of goods, or the driving of cattle, through forests.

* A translation of *Magna Charta* is given by Henry. Hist. vol. vi. App. No. 11.

16th. A permission for all persons who had been outlawed, for offences committed in forests, to reverse the outlawry.*

These concessions to the subject were the principal alterations in the old forest law, made by the charter of John, and ratified by succeeding monarchs, they continue to this day to be the basis of our forest ordinances.

BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

Our author has sufficient authority, both from history and legend, for the portrait which he has drawn of the "lion-hearted" Richard. "His character," says Mr. Turner, "bears the nearest resemblance to the Homeric portrait of Achilles, that modern Europe has exhibited. Haughty and irascible, a towering and barbaric grandeur, verging sometimes into barbarian cruelty, distinguished his actions. Valiant beyond the common measure of human daring; unparalleled in

* Brady's Append. Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 141.

"his feats of prowess; inferior to no man in
 "hardihood, strength, and agility; stern and
 "inflexible in his temper; rapacious and
 "selfish, yet frequently liberal to profusion;
 "gorgeous to ostentation, yet often gay, fami-
 "liar, satirical, and jocular; unshaken by
 "adversity, resolute to obstinacy, furious in
 "warfare, fond of battle, and always irresist-
 "ibly victorious,—his life seems rather the
 "fiction of a poet's imagination, than the sober
 "portrait, which it is, of authentic history."*

The theatre on which Richard chiefly displayed these striking but inconsistent features of character, was the Holy Land. He had, indeed, at the early age of sixteen, given full proof of his unequalled prowess and gigantic strength, in the reduction of the refractory province of Poitou (the gift of his father) to complete subordination; and had also imbibed, by his attachment to, and his patronage of, the Troubadours, (the romantic poets of his time,) a chivalric spirit, of the most intense character; but it was not till he had taken the sacred emblem of the *cross*, that a

* History of England, vol. i. page 300.

cope was afforded him commensurate to his almost super-human capacities of action and endurance, and peculiarly fitted to their full developement.

So impatient was Richard for the *strange* warfare of Palestine, and so anxious to recover the city of Jerusalem, which had surrendered to the arms of Saladin, that one of the first acts of his reign was, to compleat the preparations of his father, and embark in an expedition to the Holy Land. But it was impossible that the fiery king should reach this distant destination without many intervening adventures. While tarrying in Sicily, he engaged in a quarrel with its king; took the capital, Messina; and obliged Tancred, the reigning monarch, to satisfy the claims of his sister on that crown by a large pecuniary compensation. Offended at the inhospitality of the King of Cyprus, (in which island he married Beringaria, the daughter of the King of Navarre,) he attacked and defeated the Cypriots, and received the unqualified submission of the king and his people. Arrived at length . . . Holy Land, he approached the

city of Acre, accompanied by his coadjutor, King Philip of France, to relieve it under the siege of Saladin,—an opponent worthy the royal knight-errant. No hero is more celebrated in Moslem story than this gallant and zealous defender of the faith of Mahomet. All the virtues of a barbarous age, (if we may believe his eulogist,) personal and mental, seem to have been concentrated in his character : but all were insufficient to cope with Richard, or even to save the city of Acre, the first point in which he came in contact with his rival; and which, after a siege of nine months, surrendered to the victorious arms of the English King. From the captured city, the conqueror marched towards Ascalon; harassed at every step by the indefatigable Saladin, but keeping his progress unimpeded, and preserving his army unbroken, by such a constant vigilance, and skilful disposition of his troops, according to every emergency, as proved the most consummate knowledge of the art of war, as it was then exercised. Bohadin, a contemporary Arab historian, gives a minute and interesting description of the order.

of Richard's march on this occasion. "The
 "sixth day," says he, "the Sultan (Saladin)
 "rose at dawn, as usual, and heard from his
 "brother that the enemy was in motion. They
 "had slept that night in suitable places about
 "Cesarea. They were now dressing, and
 "taking their food. A second messenger
 "announced that they had begun their march.
 "Our brazen drum was sounded. All was
 "alert. The Sultan came out, and I accom-
 "panied him to their army. He surrounded
 "them with chosen troops, and gave the signal
 "for attack. The archers were drawn out,
 "and a heavy shower of arrows on both sides
 "descended. The enemy advanced, but
 "hedged round with his infantry like a wall.
 "These were covered with thick strong pieces
 "of cloth, fastened together with rings, so as
 "to resemble dense coats of mail. Hence,
 "though they were overwhelmed with our
 "arrows, yet their progress was not impeded.
 "I saw with my own eyes several, who had
 "not one or two, but ten darts, sticking
 "in their backs, and yet marched on with
 "a calm and cheerful step, without any trepi-

“ dation. On their parts they darted a heavier
 “ species of weapon, which wounded both our
 “ men and horses. They had, besides, a division
 “ of infantry in reserve, to relieve and aid those
 “ who should be weary, and which, marching
 “ close to the sea-shore, could not be molested.
 “ When the fighters were exhausted by fatigue
 “ or wounds, this body advanced, and com-
 “ bated till the others were refreshed. Their
 “ cavalry in the mean time kept in the middle,
 “ and never moved beyond the infantry, unless
 “ when they rushed out to charge. In vain
 “ we tempted them to spread into the array of
 “ battle; they steadily restrained themselves,
 “ and kept their close order, slowly cutting
 “ their way, and protecting their baggage with
 “ wonderful perseverance.’ * In defiance
 of these incessant endeavours to interrupt the
 march of Richard, he steadily proceeded to-
 wards Ascalon; till Saladin, irritated by repeated
 disappointments in his attempts to check him,

* Bohadin, p. 190. “ Could a Wellington (asks Mr.
 “ Turner) have safely conducted an inferior army, with all
 “ its baggage, on a continuous march, through a hostile
 “ country, and surrounded by a powerful enemy, with
 “ more judgment and success?” Vol. i. 323.

and reinforced by the addition of a large body of troops, determined to make a regular attack on the crusaders in the plain of Zuph, near Jaffa. The battle was fierce and bloody; and tedious from the caution and forbearance with which Richard bore the first success of the Moslem troops, and endured (while he continued on the defensive) the slaughter of many of his men, until the enemy had completely exhausted themselves by their reiterated and furious charges. It was then that "the lion" roused himself to action; and terrible was his wrath. Six trumpets announced to his troops that the moment had arrived of vengeance and victory. The English army spread itself with the rapidity and violence of a mighty rush of waters over the plain of Zuph. The astonished Musselmans fled or fell on every side. Saladin himself was compelled to become a fugitive: while Richard, at once the general and the soldier, crying "Havock," with his voice, and inflicting it with his enormous mace, impressed upon the enemy the appalling notion, that he was more than mortal, and that all resistance of him would be in vain. This triumph on

the plain of Zuph, opened to the King a ready course to Ascalon ; but such was not his ultimate object ; and after some delay from negotiation, he proceeded on his way to that holy city, which he had originally intended to rescue from the possession of the unbelievers. Nature, however, effected, what the Saracen arms could not achieve : the season opposed him with a violence, to which the milder climate of Europe is a stranger. His troops sickened, his provisions were destroyed, and his arms and military engines were rendered useless. He retraced his steps to Ascalon ; and having there received information that his brother John was intriguing with the King of France, and endeavouring, by his means, to possess himself of the throne of England, and the dutchy of Normandy, he determined to quit the east, and attend to the preservation of his own dominions in Europe. But, one more victory awaited him, before he left the great scene of his military glory ; a victory, which was to determine the respective claims of Richard and Saladin to the title of the greatest hero of the age ; and to give the laurel to the

British king. It was a battle in the night, fought near the walls of Jaffa, in which Richard is described as having his armour stuck full of lances, and his horse's trappings with darts. After an exhibition of prowess and strength, almost incredible, he won the conflict, and with it the esteem of the defeated Saladin, who declared that he would rather see the contested country under the dominion of a leader of such virtue and magnanimity, than of any other power.* Richard's personal ex-

* It is pleasing to see the face of barbaric warfare softened by occasional touches of humanity and courtesy. "Through the whole of the war, Saladin and Richard emulated each other as much in the reciprocation of courtesy as in military exploits. If ever the King of England chanced to be ill, Saladin sent him presents of Damascus pears, peaches, and other fruits. The same liberal hand gave the luxury of snow in the hot season. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, shewed his respect for the military character of Richard, by obtaining from him the honour of knighthood for his son." *Mills's Hist. Crusades*. Nay, what was an higher mark of esteem, and a greater effort of generosity in Saphadin,—when, in the terrible night attack near Jaffa, he accidentally encountered Richard unhorsed; he immediately made him a present of two fine coursers for his service. Nothing can more clearly prove the general impression made by Richard's formidable character on the minds of the Saracens than the recorded fact, that, when their children cried, the mothers

ertions in this perilous combat were, however, so great, as to induce a low fever, and render

were wont to quiet them, by saying "Hush ! Hush ! King Richard is coming for you." So if any of their horses started, their riders would exclaim, "Do you think you see King Richard ?" *Joinville ii. par. 35.* If the legendary accounts of Richard's transactions in the Holy Land be founded in truth, it must be acknowledged that the Saracens had sufficient cause to regard and remember him as a perfect Fee-fau-fum ! "On the occasion of an entertainment which he gave to some Saracen ambassadors, he commanded his marshals to strike off the heads of an equal number of Mussulmen, persons of high quality, and deliver them to the cook, with instructions to clear away the hair ; and, after boiling them in a cauldron, to distribute them on several platters, one to each guest, observing to fasten on the forehead of each a piece of parchment, expressing the name and family of the victim. A head was also brought to Richard, and he would eat thereof,

"As it were a tender chick,
"To see how the others will lik."

"Every thing took place according to order. The ambassadors were shocked at the repast, and astonished at the King, who swallowed the morsels as fast as they could be supplied by the knight carver :

"Every man then poked other ;
"They said, 'This is the Devil's brother,
" 'That slays our men, and thus them eats.'

"The table was then cleared, and covered with a proper dinner. Richard then courteously relieved their fears respecting their own personal safety, apologised to them for what had passed, which he attributed entirely to his

him unequal to further effort. He therefore concluded a truce with Saladin for three years;* relinquished all thoughts of marching to Jerusalem; and having determined upon an *incognito* journey to England through Germany, he at length arrived, after a tissue of singular adventures, and hair-breadth escapes, in the neighbourhood of the city of Vienna. The Duke of Austria unfortunately happened to be on the spot at the time; obtained possession of the monarch's person; and sold him to the Emperor of Germany, for a large ransom paid in silver.† Avarice was the principal

"ignorance of their taste; adding, that no food was so
"nourishing to an Englishman as the head of a Saracen;
"and that so long as one was left in Syria, they would
"care for no other meat."—*Mills's Hist. Crusades.*

* By this truce, Jaffa and Tyre were ceded to the Christians, and they were permitted to pilgrimage to Jerusalem, without paying any tax or tribute to the Saracens.

† The circumstantial Holingshed has given us the following particulars of the means by which the Duke of Austria obtained possession of Richard's person; and the use he made of the unfortunate monarch's capture.

"King Richard having concluded with Saladin, took the sea, and coming again into Cyprus, sent his wife, Queen Berengaria, with his sister Ivan, late Queen of Sicell, into Englande by the long seas, determined to

motive of the Emperor in his purchase ; and after much negociation and delay, he succeeded

“ take his course into Grecia and so by land, passe home-
 “ wards with all speed possible. Howbeit, ere he could
 “ attain his purpose, his chaunce was to be driven by tem-
 “ pest upon the coast of Istria, not far from Aquileia,
 “ where he stood in some doubt of his life ; for if hee had
 “ been knowne and taken, they would have assuredly killed
 “ him. He therefore made the best shift he could to get
 “ away, which with some difficulty he dyd ; and finally, com-
 “ ming to Vien in Ostriche, and there causing his servants
 “ to provide meate for him, more sumptuous and fine than
 “ was thought necessary for so mean a person as he coun-
 “ terfeited then to bear the countenance of, it was sus-
 “ pected that he was some other sort of man than what he
 “ shewed himself to be ; and in fine, those that marked
 “ more dilligently the manner of him, perceived what he
 “ was, and gave knowledge to the Duke of Austrich,
 “ named Leopolde, being then in the citye of Vienna,
 “ what they had seene. His page that had the Teutch,
 “ (Teutonic) tongue, goying aboute the towne to chaunge
 “ gold and buy victuals, betrayed him, having by chaunce
 “ the Kyng's gloves under his girdle ; whereupon comming
 “ to be examined, for fear of tortures, he confessed the
 “ truth. The Duke straight-wayes caused the house where
 “ the Kynge lodged, to be sette about with armed men,
 “ and sente other into the house to apprehend him. The
 “ Kynge, being ware that he was discried, gotte himself to
 “ his weapon ; but they advised him to be contented, and
 “ alledging the Duke's commandment, hee boldly an-
 “ swered, that sithe hee must be taken, he beinge a Kyng,
 “ he woulde yeeld himselfe to none of the companie, but
 “ the Duke himselfe, and therefore if it would please him
 “ to come, he woulde yeelde himselfe into his hands. The
 “ Duke, hearing of this, speedily came unto hym ; whom

in obtaining the sum of one hundred thousand marks of silver for the liberation of his royal prisoner. From Mentz, where he regained his freedom, Richard passed through Cologne to Antwerp; embarked for England, and after an imprisonment on the continent of one year, one month, two weeks, and three days, arrived at Sandwich on the 20th March, 1194.*

Highly valued as the personal qualities of courage and strength were in those days ; and endeared to his people by his adventures and sufferings, Richard was received with rapture

“ hee meeting, delivered hys sworde, and committed hym
 “ unto his custodie. The Duke rejoycing of such a prey,
 “ brought him unto his palace, and with gentle wordes
 “ enterteyned him, though hee ment no greate good
 “ towards him, as well ynoughe appeared in that he
 “ committed him to the keepinge of certeyne gentle-
 “ men, which wythout muche curtesie looked streightly
 “ ynough to him for starting awaye, insomuche that
 “ they kept hym in colde irons, as some authors do
 “ wryte. He was taken, as is above described, in
 “ December, upon St. Thomas’s even, the yeare of our
 “ Lord 1192, the fourth of his own reign.”

* Turner’s Hist. Eng. vol. i. 334. Speed adds some other stipulations to these terms ; and says that Richard was fifteen months in prison ; released on the 4th of February ; and arrived at Sandwich, in April, the Sunday after St. George’s day.—Hist. 488.

by his expecting subjects; and his second coronation in the city of Winchester was celebrated with every mark of gay festivity, and splendour. But new labours awaited the monarch, and he was roused again to action by Philip King of France, who had laid siege to Vermeil, in the Norman dominions of the English King. The news of this insult reached Richard while at dinner in Westminster: and he “sware that he would never turn his face, till he had gotten thither with his armies to fight with the French: where- upon he caused the wall to be cut through, (the signe of which breach appeared above two hundred yeares after,) never resting, till with an hundred great shippes, he had crossed the seas from Portsmouth into Normandy, where the only rumour of his approach made the French King raise his siege, and without stroke or sight of his magnanimous enemy, (but not without loss and shame,) to quite the field.” Richard’s triumph, however, over his own mind, animated with just displeasure against his brother John, excited by his frequent treach-

ery, added more lustre to his character than all his victories in France ; for upon “ John’s dutiful submission, and his mother’s intercession, he so freely forgave him, as that he calmly said, ‘ Would that thy fault may be so forgotten of me, as that thyself mayest keepe in memory what thou hast done ;’ ” and afterwards restored his possessions unto him.* And the last act of his life, by which he pardoned the archer, at the siege at Chaleur, who had deliberately shot him, put the seal to the grandeur and generosity of his extraordinary character. He had ordered the man to be reserved for punishment, but on questioning him why he had so particularly marked him out for his victim? the bold archer replied, “ With your hand you killed my father and two brothers ; and I am willing to suffer the greatest torment you can inflict, so that *you* die, who have caused so many evils to mankind.” The King felt the force of the answer, and saw the justice of the retribution ; and immediately ordered the prisoner to be released : a noble intention,

* Speed’s Hist. 490.

which was frustrated by the brutality of a Flemish commander in Richard's service, who, on his master's death, directed that the unfortunate wretch should be flayed alive. It is gratifying to believe, that such a grand, though rude, character as Richard, should not have closed his career, without experiencing some impressions more honourable to human nature, than the passion for warlike atchievement, and the "bubble, reputation;" without some compunction for the enormities into which this passion had seduced him; and some efforts to conciliate that divine displeasure, which such a conviction of demerit would naturally lead him to anticipate; and such appears to have been the case. "Shortly after his return from Palestine, (says Speed, from Hovedon) "a poore hermit came to this noble monarch; preached to him the words of eternal life; and bade him be myndfull of the submersion of Sodom, and to abstaine from things unlawful; otherwise, (saith he) the deserved vengeance of God will come upon thee. The hermit being gone, the King neglected his wordes; but not long

“ after falling sicke, hee more seriously be-
 “ thought himself, and afterward waxing sound
 “ in soule as well as body, his dailey exercise
 “ was to rise earley, and not to depart from
 “ the church till divine service were finished.
 “ Whereupon (saith Hovedon) how glorious it
 “ is for a prince to begin and end his action^s
 “ in Him, who is beginning without beginning,
 “ and judgeth the ends of the earth. More-
 “ over hee bountifully relieved every day
 “ much poore, both in his court and townes
 “ round about ; and restored gold and silver
 “ vessels to such churches, from which, to pay
 “ his ransome, they had been taken away.”
 And as his last hour approached, “ having
 “ discharged his cares towards the world con-
 “ cerning his transitory state, and given a
 “ fourth part of his treasures to his servants
 “ and the poor, he prepared himselfe for the
 “ presence of God, strengthening his soul
 “ with heartie contrition, confession, and
 “ participation of the Holy Sacrament.”*

The intellectual qualities of Richard I. (as we have before hinted) were far from being

* Speed's Hist. 490, 491.

contemptible ; and had they been unfolded by education, and nourished by leisure and study, would have thrown some lustre on the age in which he lived. Several pointed sayings and smart answers have been recorded of him, that shew quickness of perception, and readiness in repartee. When he sold the earldom of Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham, he said with a laugh, “ Am I not cunning to “ make a young earl out of an old bishop ?” To a Frenchman who told him that he (Richard) had three daughters, whom he must part with, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness ; — “ Then,” said he, ‘ I give to the Knights Templars my “ pride, — to the Carmelites, my avarice, — and to “ the Clergy, my voluptuousness :” and having taken a bishop prisoner in a skirmish, and put him into fetters, the prelates complained to the Pope, who desired Richard not to detain in prison his *dear son* in the faith. The King sent the Pope the armour in which the bishop had been taken, with this message ; “ We found “ him in this dress ; see whether it be your “ son’s coat or not.” The Pontiff was not behind-hand in joke with Richard, but returned

for answer, " No, not my son's ; but some imp
" of Mars, who may deliver him, if he can ; I
" will not interfere."*

We have before mentioned Richard's poetical taste ; which always indicates a mind capable of greater things than the groveling pursuits of mere sense. Its productions must not be tried by the modern gage of literary merit ; but they are not behind the standard of the poetical talent of the times in which he lived. One of these curious effusions is the following *sirvente*, which he composed during his captivity in Germany.

" No prisoner can speak justly of his mis-
" fortune without grief ; yet for his solace
" he may make a song. He may have friends,
" but how poor are their gifts ! They should
" feel shame, that two winters are passed
" without my ransom.

" My English, Norman, Gascon, Poitou
" Barons ! I have had no companion so miser-
" able, whose deliverance I would not have
" purchased. I will not reproach you ; but
" —I am still a prisoner !

* Camden's Remains, p. 200 ; Turner's Hist. vol. i. p. 336.

“ It is, indeed, true, that a dead man has
 “ neither relations nor friends; since to save
 “ some gold and silver, I am abandoned!
 “ I am suffering from my misfortunes; but I
 “ suffer more from the want of feeling in
 “ my subjects! How reproachful to them, if
 “ I should die in captivity!

“ I am not surprized that I should grieve.
 “ My feudal sovereign is ravaging my lands,
 “ although we swore to respect each other’s
 “ possessions. But one thing consoles me,—
 “ I will not be slow in taking my revenge.

“ Chail and Pensaivin! my minstrels! my
 “ friends! I have loved you: I love you
 “ now. Sing, that my enemies will have
 “ little glory in attacking me; that I have
 “ not shewn to them a heart false and per-
 “ fidious; that they will act like real villains,
 “ if they war against me while I am in prison!

“ Lady Soir, heaven guard your sovereign
 “ merit! and her’s whom I claim, and to
 “ whom I am a captive!”

The only other poem of Richard’s which
 has been preserved, is a *sirvente* against the
 Dauphin of Auvergne, and his cousin, whose

alliance against the French king Richard had solicited in vain.

“ Dauphin, and Count Gui! answer me.
 “ Where is the martial ardour which you
 “ displayed in our league against the com-
 “ mon enemy? You gave me your faith;
 “ and you keep it as the wolf did to the
 “ fox, whom you resemble in your red locks.
 “ You have ceased to aid me, because you
 “ fear your services will not be repaid. You
 “ know there is no money at Chinon.

“ You seek the alliance of a rich and valiant
 “ king, faithful to his word. You dread my
 “ cowardice and parsimony, and you fall to
 “ the other side. Remember the adventure
 “ of Issoire. Are you satisfied with losing
 “ that place? Will you raise soldiers to
 “ revenge the usurpation? Whatever you do,
 “ Richard, with his banner in his hand, will
 “ shew that he is no contemptible foe.

“ I have seen you formerly in love with
 “ magnificence; but now the desire of build-
 “ ing strong castles makes you abandon the
 “ ladies and your gallantry. You frequent
 “ no more courts and tournaments. Beware

“ of the French ; they are Lombards in their
“ dealings !

“ Go, *sirvente*, go to Auvergne, whither
“ I send thee. Say to the two Counts from
“ me, that if they will keep the peace, may
“ God bless them ! Who cares if a low man
“ fail in his word ? Can we reckon on the
“ faith of a squire ? The future will teach
“ them that they have chosen wrong.”*

If the beautiful story of the discovery of Richard’s place of confinement by Blondel de Nesle were *unquestionably* true, we should have another authentic fragment of the King’s metrical composition ; but it cannot be denied, that the evidence for its verity is not sufficient to stamp the interesting incident with the character of an historical fact.† The story is as follows :

“ The Englishmen were more than a whole
“ yeare without hearinge any tydings of their
“ king, or in what place he was kept prisoner.
“ He had trained up in his court a rhymer,

* Hist. Troubad. vol. i. 58—65.

† Its only authority is an old French chronicle, seen by President Fauchet, and cited in his relation of the circumstance.—Recueil, p. 92.

“ or minstrel, called Blondel de Nesle, who,
 “ being so long without the sight of his lord,
 “ his life seemed wearisome to him, and
 “ he became confounded with melancholy.
 “ Knowne it was that he came backe from
 “ the Holy Land; but none could tell in
 “ what countrey he arrived. Whereupon this
 “ Blondel, resolving to make search for him
 “ in many countries, but he would hear some
 “ news of him; after expense of divers dayes
 “ in travaile, he came to a towne by hap,
 “ neere to the castell where his maister,
 “ King Richard, was kept. Of his host he
 “ demanded to whom the castell appertained;
 “ and the host told him that it belonged to
 “ the Duke of Austria. Then he enquired
 “ whether there were any prisoners therein
 “ or no, (for always he made such secret
 “ questionings wheresoever he came;) and
 “ the host made answer, there was only one
 “ prisoner, but he knew not what he was, and
 “ yet he had been detained there more than
 “ the space of one yeare. When Blondel
 “ heard this, he wrought such meanes that
 “ he became acquainted with them of the

“ castell, as minstrels doe easily win acquaint-
 “ ance any where ; but see the king he could
 “ not, neither understand that it was he.
 “ One day he sat directly before a window of
 “ the castell, where King Richard was kept
 “ prisoner, and began to sing a song in French,
 “ which King Richard and Blondel had
 “ sometime composed together. When King
 “ Richard heard the song, he knew it was
 “ Blondel that sung it ; and when Blondel
 “ paused at half of the song, the King began
 “ the other half, and completed it. Thus
 “ Blondel won knowledge of the king his
 “ master; and returning home into England,
 “ made the barons of the countrie acquainted
 “ where the King was.” This happened
 about the year 1193.*

* Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Essay, vol. i. page 30. A French author has preserved the very song itself, of which the first six lines were said to have been sung by Blondel, and the last six by Richard. It is in the old Provencal language :

R. Donna vostra beutas
 Elas bellas faissos
 Els bels oïls amors
 Els gens cors ben taillats
 D'un sieu empresenats
 De vostra amor que mi ha.

R. Si bel trop affansia
 Ia de vos non partrai
 Que major honorai
 Sol en votre deman
 Que sautra des beisan
 Tot can de vos volria.

The singular state of manners throughout Europe, in the twelfth century : the spirit of adventure which influenced the nobles of that age ; the romantic circumstances in which they were occasionally placed by the operation of this strong impulse ; and, above all, the devoted attachment which many of their retainers and companions entertained for the persons of their chieftains, throw a gleam of probability on the above interesting tradition. But, whether or not this be allowed, we are, at all events, indebted to the legend, for a very beautiful little poem, of the generation which, (in more acceptations than one) is *now* gone by ; the offspring of a fancy equally bright, and of an imagination equally pregnant, with those of any existing English bard ; of a mind as deeply imbued with classical taste and poetical feeling ; and far beyond them all, in its ample stores of that *middle-age learning*, which, in its gothic imagery, affords some of the choicest materials for rhythmical composition.* The ode is supposed to be the joint composition of Richard and Blondel ; which the latter

* Warton's Poems, (1791,) p. 87.

sang to the middle, and the King continued and completed.

THE CRUSADE.

Bound for holy Palestine,
Nimble we brush'd the level brine,
All in azure steel array'd ;
O'er the wave our weapons play'd,
And made the dancing billows glow ;
High upon the trophied prow,
Many a warrior-minstrel swung
His sounding harp, and boldly sung:
 " Syrian virgins, wail and weep,
 " English Richard ploughs the deep !
 " Tremble, watchmen, as ye spy,
 " From distant towers, with anxious eye,
 " The radiant range of shield and lance,
 " Down Damascus' hills advance:
 " From Sion's turrets as afar
 " Ye ken the march of Europe's war !
 " Saladin, thou paynim king,
 " From Albion's isle revenge we bring !
 " On Acon's spiry citadel,
 " Though to the gale thy banners swell,
 " Pictur'd with the silver moon ;
 " England shall end thy glory soon !
 " In vain, to break our firm array,
 " Thy brazen drums hoarse discord bray :
 " Those sounds our rising fury fan :
 " English Richard in the van.
 " On to victory we go,
 " A vaunting infidel the foe."
Blondel led the tuneful band,
And swept the wire with glowing hand,

Cyprus, from her rocky mound,
And Crete, with piny verdure crown'd,
Far along the smiling main
Echoed the prophetic strain.

Soon we kiss'd the sacred earth
That gave a murder'd Saviour birth:
Then with ardour fresh endu'd,
Thus the solemn song renew'd.

“ Lo, the toilsome voyage past,
“ Heav'n's favour'd hills appear at last!
“ Object of our holy vow,
“ We tread the Tyrian vallies now.
“ From Carmel's almond-shaded steep,
“ We feel the cheering fragrance creep:
“ O'er Engaddi's shrubs of balm
“ Waves the date-empurpled palm,
“ See, Lebanon's aspiring head
“ Wide his immortal umbrage spread!
“ Hail, Calvary, thou mountain hoar,
“ Wet with our Redeemer's gore!
“ Ye trampled tombs, ye fanes forlorn,
“ Ye stones, by tears of pilgrims worn,
“ Your ravish'd honours to restore,
“ Fearless we climb this hostile shore!
“ And thou, the sepulchre of God!
“ By mocking pagans rudely trod,
“ Bereft of ev'ry awful rite,
“ And quench'd thy lamps that beam'd so bright;
“ For thee, from Britain's distant coast,
“ Lo, Richard leads his faithful host!
“ Aloft, in his heroic hand,
“ Blazing, like the beacon's brand,
“ O'er the far-affrighted fields,
“ Resistless Kaliburn he wields.
“ Proud Saracen, pollute no more
“ The shrines by martyrs built of yore!

" From each wild mountain's trackless crown
 " In vain thy gloomy castles frown :
 " Thy battering engines, huge and high,
 " In vain our steel-clad steeds defy ;
 " And, rolling in terrific state,
 " On giant-wheels harsh thunders grate.
 " When eve has hush'd the buzzing camp,
 " Amid the moon-light vapours damp,
 " Thy necromantic forms, in vain,
 " Haunt us on the tented plain :
 " We bid those spectre-shapes avaunt,
 " Ashtaroath, and Termagaunt !
 " With many a demon, pale of hue,
 " Doom'd to drink the bitter dew
 " That drops from Macon's sooty tree,
 " 'Mid the dread grove of ebony.
 " Nor magic charms, nor fiends of hell,
 " The christian's holy courage quell.
 " Salem, in ancient majesty
 " Arise, and lift thee to the sky !
 " Soon on thy battlements divine
 " Shall wave the badge of Constantine.
 " Ye Barons, to the sun unfold
 " Our Cross with crimson wove and gold !"

The character of JOHN, by the Author of
 Ivanhoe, unmanly and contemptible as it is
 represented in the sketch given of it in the
 novel, affords, notwithstanding, but a faint
 idea of that extreme moral turpitude, and
 utter baseness, which marked it for everlasting
 infamy. The degenerate monarch has, it is

true, had his apologists;* but making every allowance for the personal dislike which some

* He was a favourite of the goodnatured Speed, who has laboured to affix considerable positive merit to the character of John ; but he has forgotten that his " works of devotion" were all effected to serve interested purposes ; and " his acts and orders for the weale-publike" were, for the most part, forced from him by the point of the barons' swords.

" His works of devotion" (says Speed) " were inferior to none, as his foundations declare at Beauuly, Far-
" ringdon, Malmsbury, and Dublin, and that other for
" nunnes at Godstow, by Oxford, from which some have
" interpreted that prophesie of Merlin, as meant of him :

" Sith (since) virgin-gifts to maids he gave,

" 'Mongst blessed saints God will him save.

" His acts and orders for weale-publike were beyond most,
" he being the first or the chiefest, who appointed those
" noble forms of civik government in London, and most
" cities and incorporate townes in England ; endowing
" them also with the greatest franchises ; the first who
" caused sterling money to be here coyned ; the first who
" ordained the honourable ceremonies in creation of Earles,
" the first who settled the rates of wine, bread, cloth, and
" such like necessities of commerce ; the first who placed
" English laws and officers in Ireland, and both annexed
" that kingdome, and fastened Wales to the crowne of Eng-
" land, thereby making amends for his losses in France ;
" and thence amongst all the English monarchs, he was
" the first who enlarged the royal stile with Lorde of Ire-
" land ; a matter of greater import for England's peace,
" than all the French titles ever yet have proved. Whose
" whole course of life and actions wee cannot shut with
" any truer euloge, than that which an ancient author

of the monkish historians might have entertained against him, the plain record of his public acts, and private conduct, will be sufficient to prove, that the odium which he incurred in his own time, and which his memory has since inherited, was most justly bestowed.

In the depraved character of John, remarks an elegant modern historian, there seems less than the usual mixture of qualities, on which, even in bad men, some panegyric may be founded. Gross in his appetites, obstinate in self-will, furious in his anger; slothful, debauched, tyrannical, and pusillanimous; his defects were not relieved by any mental capacity or social attainments. They were aggravated by the display of a disposition both cruel and unprincipled. To say nothing of the mysterious disappearance of his nephew Arthur, his torturing the Jews was the suggestion and gratification of a merciless mind. His confining the wife and children of a noble, who had affronted him,

“hath conferred on him. ‘*Princeps quidem magnus erat*’
 “‘*sed minus felix, atque ut Marius, utramque fortunam*’
 “‘*expertus.*’ Doubtlesse he was a prince more great than
 “happy, and one, who like Marius, had tried both sides
 “of fortune’s wheel.” P. 517.

in Windsor Castle, to die of famine as they did ; his ordering, one day before dinner, twenty-eight Welsh lads to be hanged, whom he had received the year before as hostages, because their countrymen made depredations on his borders ; his torturing to death one of his clergy, who is described as a faithful, prudent, and accomplished man ; his hanging the poor hermit and his son, who had ventured a prediction that he would not be King on the next Ascension day,* which he verified by the resignation of his kingdom to Pandulf, the Pope's legate ; these instances shew that he had a malignity of disposition, which no human sympathies softened. His religious opinions may be inferred from his exclamation over a fat stag, taken in hunting, as he saw him flayed : " How happily has this fellow lived ; "and yet he never heard mass !"

The actions of John are best accounted for, on the supposition that he was deranged ; and

* *John.* Is this Ascension-day ? Did not the Prophet
Say, that before Ascension-day at noon
My crown I should give off ? Even so I have
I did suppose, it should be on constraint ;
But, heav'n be thank'd, it is but voluntary.

Shakespeare.

this idea gives some intelligibility to a story, too wild to be probable, yet too well attested to be rejected. It is stated by Mathew Paris, on the authority of one of the persons who formed the embassy to the Miramoulin, who related the account in the hearing of the historian, and shewed the presents he had received from the Moorish Prince. The story is as follows : During the first dissention between John and his nobles, and after his submission to Pandulf, he sent secretly, but in great haste, two knights, and Robert, a clergyman of London, to the Mohamedan Emperor of Spain and Africa, offering to yield his kingdom, to be tributary to him, and to change his religion for that of the Koran. Admitted to the presence of the Saracen monarch, they delivered their credentials and message. After expressing his dislike of a renegade, he enquired about England and its sovereign. When he heard a prosperous account of the country, he asked the King's age and person. On receiving the explanation, he exclaimed, that he was nothing but a delirious dotard, and indignantly ordered the messengers to retire from his presence. As they withdrew,

the little black countenance and misshapen figure of the Monk Robert, who had hitherto been silent, arrested his notice. He had him called back. He conversed familiarly with him, and questioned him particularly about John. The Monk drew the King's picture with a severe hand. The Moor was pleased with his conversation, repeated his contempt for his master, but loaded him with presents. On his return, John, to reward him for his journey, forced him on the Abbey of St. Alban's, where to his familiar friends he disclosed this circumstance. If this embassy had merely been to have asked the assistance of the Musselmén against his barons, it would have been credible, for the Emperor of Germany in this age employed Saracens in his army against Milan, and the Grecian Emperor more than once sought aid from the Turks : but that John should have offered to embrace Mahomedanism, and to make his kingdom tributary, was either an exaggeration of the dark-visaged ambassador, or must be referred to a paroxysm of insanity.*

* Turner's Hist. Eng. vol. i. 356.

It is asserted by most historians, that John fell a victim to his vices, and died at Newark of dysentery, the consequence of having gormandized on peaches and new ale; but a report was circulated, some time after his death, of his having been poisoned by the monks of Swinestead Abbey, in Lincolnshire—an act of treachery which is thus related by Grafton: “ In the self-same yere (1215),
 “ King John came to Swinestede Abbey, not
 “ farre from Lincolne: he rested there two
 “ dayes, where he was most trayterously poy-
 “ soned by a monke of the same Abbey, being
 “ of the order of St. Barnard, called Simon
 “ Swynested. This monke, hearyng the King
 “ upon an occasion to talke of breade, beyng
 “ then of the value of one halfepeney, worth
 “ twelve pence; mayning that he woulde so
 “ persecute his rebellious people, that he
 “ would not leave one of them to be owner
 “ of a plough:—the monke, heyring the
 “ King thus speake, conceived a bad opinion
 “ of him; and goying forthwith to his Abbot,
 “ shewed him the whole matter, and what he
 “ was mynded to do. He alleged for him-

" selfe the propheticie of Cayphas, saying, It
 " is better that one man dye, than all the
 " people shoulde perishe. I am well content,
 " sayth he, to dye and to become a martyr,
 " so that I may utterly destroy this tyrant.
 " With that the Abbot wept for gladness,
 " and much commended his fervent zeale,
 " as he took it. The monke beyng then
 " absolved by his Abbot, beforehand, for
 " the doying of this acte, went secretly into
 " the gardeyne, upon the bakesyde of the
 " Abbey, and findyng there a most venom-
 " ous toade, he so pricked him and pressed
 " him with his penne-knyfe, that he made
 " him vomit all the poison that was within
 " him. This done, he conveyed it into a
 " cup of wine, and with a smyling coun-
 " tenance brought it to the Kyng, saying,
 " If it shall lyke your princely Majestie,
 " here is a cup of such excellent wine as ye
 " never dranke before in all your life-time.
 " The Kyng then bid him drink first, which
 " he chearfully did a large draught; and the
 " Kyng also drank of the wine. The monke
 " anone went to the farmory, and there died,

“ his bowels bursting from his belly; and he
 “ had continually from thence three monkes
 “ to sing masses for his soule, confirmed by
 “ their general chapter. The King, within
 “ shorte space after, feeling greate grieffe in
 “ hys body, asked for Simon the monke, and
 “ answere was made, that he was departed
 “ this lyfe. ‘ Then God have mercye upon
 “ ‘ me,’ said the King; ‘ I suspected as
 “ ‘ muche.’ With that he commaunded his
 “ chariot to be brought, for he was not able
 “ to ride on horseback; so he went from
 “ thence to Slaford Castell, and from thence
 “ agayne to Newark-upon-Trente, where in
 “ less than three days he died, and was ho-
 “ nourably buried at Worcester, with all his
 “ armed men attendyng upon hys buryall.”
 Grafton copied this account from Caxton’s
 booke, *Fructus temporum*, and the *Polychro-
 nicon*. The story, however, is as old as
 Edward the First’s time; and (considering
 the mutual hatred which subsisted between
 John and the monks) might not be entirely
 void of foundation. Our immortal Shakes-
 peare adopted it, either as believing the

our, or because he thought it suited to natic purposes.

Hubert. The King, I fear, is poison'd by a monk: -
 oft him almost speechless, and broke out
 acquaint you with this evil.

Faulc. How did he take it? who did taste to him?

Hubert. A monk, I tell you: a resolved villain,
 whose bowels suddenly burst out.

Henry. How fares, your Majesty?

K. John. Poison'd, ill fare! dead, forsook, cast off.
 Within me is a hell; and there the poison
 as a fiend, confin'd to tyrannize
 a unreprievable, condemned blood.

The character of LOCKSLEY, or ROBIN-
 HOOD, in the novel we are considering, is
 given so admirably, and with so much pic-
 resque effect, that we should be sorry to
 consider it as a mere fanciful sketch, and are
 anxious to find in recorded history the arche-
 type of so interesting a personage. The
 slight foundation for it, however, which his-
 tory affords, serves only to manifest the
 creative power of our author's genius, who,
 from a few detached and almost shadowy ma-

terials, could produce a form of such compleat and palpable beauty. The utmost diligence of some of our most patient antiquaries has collected for us only the following particulars of this celebrated outlaw.

"The legend of Robin Hood," says Sir John Hawkins, "is of great antiquity; for in the Vision of Pierce Plowman, written by Robert Langland, or Longland, a secular priest, and a fellow of Oriel college, and who flourished in the reign of Edward III. is this passage:

"I cannot perfitly my Pater-noster as the prist it singeth;
"I can rimes of Robinhod and Randal of Chester,
"But of our Lord or our Lady, I lerne nothing at all."

"Yet Ames takes no notice of any early impression of his songs. He mentions one only, intituled 'King Edward, Robin Hood, and Little John,' printed by Caxton, or at least in his house, about the year 1500; the last edition of his *Garland* of any worth is that of 1719.

"The history of this popular hero is but little known; and all the scattered fragments concerning him, could they be brought

“together, would fall short of satisfying such
 “an enquirer as none but real and well-
 “authenticated facts will content. We must
 “take his story as we find it. Stow in his
 “Annals gives the following account of him.

“ ‘ In this time (about the year 1190, in
 “ ‘ the reign of Richard I.) were many rob-
 “ ‘ bers and outlawes, among which Robin
 “ ‘ Hood and little John, renowned theeves,
 “ ‘ continued in woods, despoyling and rob-
 “ ‘ bing the goods of the rich. They killed
 “ ‘ none but such as would invade them; or
 “ ‘ by resistance for their own defence.

“ ‘ The saide Robert entertained an hun-
 “ ‘ dred tall men, and good archers, with
 “ ‘ such spoiles and thefts as he got; upon
 “ ‘ whom four hundred (were they ever so
 “ ‘ strong) durst not give the onset. He suf-
 “ ‘ fered no woman to be oppressed, violated,
 “ ‘ or otherwise molested: poore-men’s goods
 “ ‘ he spared, abundantlie relieuing them with
 “ ‘ that which by theft he gat from abbies,
 “ ‘ and the houses of rich earles: whom Maior
 “ ‘ (the historian) blameth for his rapine and
 “ ‘ theft; but of all theeves he affirmeth him.

“ ‘to be the prince, and the most gentle
“ ‘theefe.’—*Annals*, p. 159.

“ Bishop Latimer, in his Sermons, tells the
“ following story relating to him.

“ ‘ I came once myselfe to a place, riding
“ ‘ on a journey homeward from London, and
“ ‘ I sent word ouer night into the town that
“ ‘ I would preach there in the morning,
“ ‘ because it was holyday, and methought it
“ ‘ was on holidaye’s work. The church
“ ‘ stooode in my way, and I took my horse
“ ‘ and my company and went thither, (I
“ ‘ thought I should have found a great com-
“ ‘ panye in the church ;) and when I came
“ ‘ there the church-doore was fast locked.
“ ‘ I taryed there halfe an houre and more;
“ ‘ and at last the key was found, and one of
“ ‘ the parish comes to me, and sayes, Syr,
“ ‘ this is a busie day with us. We cannot
“ ‘ heare you, it is Robinhoode’s day. The
“ ‘ parish are gone abroad to gather for Ro-
“ ‘ binhoode ; I pray you let them not. I
“ ‘ was fayne there to giue place to Robin-
“ ‘ hoode. I thought my rochet would have
“ ‘ been regarded, though I were not ; but it

“ ‘ would not serue, it was fain to geue place
 “ ‘ to Robinhoode’s men.’—*Sermon VI. be-
 “ fore King Edward VI. fol. 75, b.*

“ Sir Edward Coke, in his third Institute,
 “ page 197, speaks of Robinhood; and says
 “ that men of his lawless profession were from
 “ him called Roberdsmen. He says that this
 “ notable thief gave not only a name to these
 “ kind of men, but that there is a bay in the
 “ river of , in Yorkshire, called
 “ Robinhood’s bay. He farther adds, that
 “ the statute of Winchester, 13 Edward I.
 “ and another statute of 5 Edward III. were
 “ made for the punishment of Roberdsmen,
 “ and other felons.

“ Drayton, in his Polyolbion, song 26,
 “ thus characterizes him :

“ ‘ From wealthy abbots’ ohests, and churches abun-
 “ dant store,
 “ ‘ What oftentimes he took, he shar’d amongst the
 “ poore.
 “ ‘ No lordly Bishop came in lusty Robin’s way.
 “ ‘ To him before he went but for his pass must pay.
 “ ‘ The widow in distress he gratically reliev’d,
 “ ‘ And remedied the wrongs of many a virgin griev’d.”

“ Hearne, in his Glossary to Peter Lang-
 “ toft, *voce trow*, inserts a manuscript note

“ out of Wood, containing a passage cited
 “ from John Major, the Scottish historian,
 “ to this purpose, that Robinhood was indeed
 “ an arch-robber, but the gentlest thief that
 “ ever was; and says he might have added,
 “ from the Harleian MS. of John Fordun’s
 “ Scottish Chronicle, that he was, though a
 “ notorious robber, a man of great devotion
 “ and charity.

“ He is frequently called Robert Earl of
 “ Huntingdon; and there is extant a dramatic
 “ history of his death, that gives him this
 “ title. There is also extant a pedigree of
 “ his family; which shews that he had at
 “ least some pretensions to the earldom.
 “ Nevertheless, the most ancient poems on
 “ him make no mention of this title; and in
 “ a very old legend, in verse, preserved in
 “ the archives of the public library of Cam-
 “ bridge, he is expressly asserted to have been
 “ simply a yeoman.*

“ Dr. Stukeley, in his *Palæographia Bri-*
 “ *tannica*, No. 11, 1746, has given an account

* “ *Vide Reliquæ of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. i.
 “ page 81.

“ of the descent of this famous person to this
 “ purpose, viz. that his true name was Robert
 “ Fitz-Ooth ; but that, agreeable to the prac-
 “ tice in the north of England, the two last
 “ letters of his name were contracted into *d*,
 “ whence he was called Hood ; that he was a
 “ man of rank, being grandson of Ralph
 “ Fitz-Ooth, a Norman earl of Kyme, whose
 “ name appears in the roll of Battell-Abbey,
 “ and who came into England with William
 “ Rufus. That Robin Hood’s maternal grand-
 “ father was Gilbert de Gient, earl of Lin-
 “ coln ; his grandmother was the Lady Roisia
 “ de Vere, sister to the Earl of Oxford, and
 “ Countess of Essex, from whom the town of
 “ Royston, where she was buried, takes its
 “ name. Robin Hood’s father William was,
 “ in those times of feudal dependence, a ward
 “ of Robert earl of Oxford ; who, by the
 “ King’s order, gave to him in marriage the
 “ third daughter of Lady Roisia.

“ Robinhood had for his coat-armour
 “ Gules, two bends engrailed, Or. The tra-
 “ gedy above-mentioned makes him die by
 “ poison ; but the vulgar tradition is, that

“ being compelled to apply to a nun for assist-
 “ ance in a disorder that required bleeding,
 “ she performed the operation so that he died
 “ under it.

“ At Kirklees, in Yorkshire, now the seat
 “ of the Armitage family, but which was
 “ formerly a Benedictine nunnery, and pro-
 “ bably the very place where he received his
 “ death wound, is a grave-stone near the park,
 “ under which, as it is said, Robin Hood lies
 “ buried. There is an inscription on it, now
 “ not legible ; but Mr. Ralph Thoresby, in
 “ his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, from the papers of
 “ Dr. Gale, dean of Yorke, gives the follow-
 “ ing as his epitaph :

“ ‘ Hear, underneath dis lark stean,
 “ ‘ Layz Robert earl of Huntingtun,
 “ ‘ Hea arcei-her az hie sa geude ;
 “ ‘ An piple kauld im Robin Hood.
 “ ‘ Sic utlatus as hi, and iz men,
 “ ‘ Gilt England never sigh agen.

“ ‘ Obiit 24 Kal. Decembris, 1247.’ ”

“ Dr. Percy doubts the genuineness of this
 “ epitaph, and with good reason ; for the
 “ affected quaintness of the spelling, and the

“ even pace of the metre, are certainly ground
“ for suspicion.”*

This epitaph certainly wears a suspicious appearance, and as such was considered by the late Bishop of Down, who, notwithstanding, on the authority of Stukeley's pedigree, seems inclined to allow to Robin-hood the claim of baronial descent. He accounts for the probability of such a personage as our outlaw having existed and signalized himself by such habits, achievements, and course of life, as are attributed to him in the old and popular songs of our country, in a very natural and judicious manner.

“ The severity of those tyrannical forest
“ laws, (says he,) which were introduced by our
“ Norman kings, and the great temptation
“ of breaking them, by such as lived near the
“ royal forests, at a time when the yeomanry
“ of this kingdom were every where trained
“ up with the long bow, and the art of shoot-
“ ing, must constantly have occasioned great
“ numbers of outlaws, and especially of such
“ as were the best marksmen. These natu-

* Sir John Hawkins's History of Music, vol. i. p. 413.

“ rally fled to the woods for shelter, and
 “ forming into troops, endeavoured by their
 “ numbers to protect themselves from the
 “ dreadful penalties of their delinquency.
 “ The ancient punishment for killing the
 “ king’s deer was, loss of eyes, and emascu-
 “ tion ; a punishment far worse than death.
 “ This will easily account for the troops of
 “ banditti which formerly lurked in the royal
 “ forests, and from their superior skill in ar-
 “ chery, and knowledge of all the recesses of
 “ those unfrequented solitudes, found it no
 “ difficult matter to resist or elude the civil
 “ power.”* Such troops must necessarily have
 had leaders ; and these would of course be
 selected from the most daring and expert of the
 respective bands ; one of whom, from his supe-
 rior hardihood, skill, and wild generosity ;
 “ which robbed the rich to feed the poor,”
 obtained a popularity above his fellows, in his
 own time ; and has been handed down to the
 present day, by traditionary stories, and popu-
 lar ballads, under the well-known appellation
 of ROBINHOOD.

* Percy’s Ancient Poems, &c. v. i. 82.

Before we dismiss this celebrated archer, who makes so interesting a figure in *Ivanhoe*, we cannot but notice the pleasing manner in which our author has represented his personal appearance; as well as the accuracy with which he has described his costume. The masterly painting of Chaucer, indeed, gives the portrait of a forester two hundred years after the time of Locksley; but, it is probable, that no great alteration had taken place in the garb of an English dweller in the green-wood, from the reign of Richard I. to that of Richard II.

And he was cladde in cote and hode of grene ;
 A sheaf of peacock arwes* bright and kene
 Under his belt he bare full thriftily :
 Well could he dresse his takel yemenly :
 His arwes drouped not with fetheres lowe,
 And in his hand he bare a mighty bowe.

A not-hed † had he, with a browne vissage ;
 Of woode-crafte ‡ could he wel alle the usage ;
 Upon his arme he bare a gaie bracer, §
 And by his side a swerd and a boketer ;
 And on that other side a gaie daggere,

* The peacock's feathers seem to have been generally made use of for fethering arrows.—*Wart. Hist. Eng. Poet.* 457, note (1).

† Not-hed. His hair closely cut ; so that his head appeared like a nut.

‡ Woode-crafte. The wiles of hunting.

§ Bracer. Armour for the arms. Roger Ascham give the following use of it :
 " A bracer" (says he) " serveth for two causes : one to save his arm from the
 " strype of the stringe, and his doubtet from wearing. And the other is, that the
 " stringe gliding sharplye, and quicklye, off the bracer may make the sharper
 " shot."

Harneised wel, and sharpe as point of speare;
 A Christofir** on his brest of silver shone;
 An horn he bare the baudric†† was of grene..
 A Forster was he sotheley as I guess‡‡

MISCELLANEOUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

LANGUAGE.—The *diction* adopted by the Author of Waverley, in the Novel of Ivanhoe, and the defect in the *manner* of its being employed, we have already adverted to: but, in the former particular he had a difficulty to encounter; and it is not easy to see, how he could completely have surmounted it. The language of our country in the twelfth century would now be unintelligible from its obsolescence; our modern tongue would have been insipid from its familiarity; and the only means left him, in order to obtain that *hue of antiquity* in the phraseology of his story, which its date required, was, to seek the forms of expression

** A. Christopher. A little image of St. Christopher, who was the patron of field sports.

††Baudric. The Baldrick or strap by which the horn was suspended.—*Jen. Etymol.* (s. voc. *Baudreck*.)

‡‡ Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

were popular in the conversation and positions of the English two centuries

To this plan he resorted ; nor would effect have been disappointing, had he retained, throughout, in narrative as well as dialogue, an uniform attention to the model he had fixed upon.

At the æra chosen for the Novel of Ivanhoe, the oral language of England was of a somewhat motley character, from the change which had been produced in the political state of the country, by the Conquest ; and in its population by the introduction of the Normans. All the subordinate classes of the community retained the vernacular tongue of their ancestors, and the Anglo-Saxon ; slightly corrupted, however, by a few Norman words, which had gradually mingling with it for a century ; while the higher classes, and their numerous retainers and dependents, the descendants of the invaders of England, fastidiously rejected the language of the country from which their fathers had issued, and spoke the man-French. This language also, and the English, had been for an age (with very few

exceptions) those of the literature of the country; while many of the statute laws were couched in the former tongue; and the courts of judicature, and the seminaries of education, paid a similar compliment, in their pleadings and instructions, to the language of the conquerors. But all the aids of fashion, power, and influence, were not sufficient to preserve the Norman-French from eventual absorption by the Anglo-Saxon. All the circumstances which produced and increased the intercourse between the descendants of the invaders and the natives, had a tendency to lessen the popularity and use of the foreign dialect, from the immense superiority of the latter over the former in point of number. The minor was necessarily, in the course of time, submerged in the major; an event which had completely taken place before the reign of Richard II. by the regular formation of a language almost purely English; by the reception of this language at court; and by its adoption by popular writers. While this event was in process, a poem, from which the following lines are extracted, was written.

[its diction is sufficiently forbidding and barbarous ; but it establishes the fact, of the paucity of Norman words in our vernacular tongue, in times so near the conquest as the reign of Richard the First ; and proves, that however these vocables had intruded themselves into the English language earlier in the Anglo-Norman dynasty, they had, even by this period yielded to the more popular vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon.*

Tha the masse was isungen
Of chirceken heo thrungen.

* In proportion as we ascend in the history of languages, the more we discover their affiliation ; and find, that (like so many streams from a particular fountain) they are, with all their apparent diversities, nothing more than different modifications of one original stock. Thus, the ancestors of the Normans, who settled in Neustria, spoke a language not very different from the ancient Saxon; but, this being gradually blended with the language of the natives of the North of France, (a corrupt species of Latin, built on the foundation of the ancient Gælic, or Celtic,) it appeared quite in a new form, when brought into England. There still remained, however, a secret analogy between the two languages, which rendered the substitution of the Saxon for the Norman more easy than would otherwise have been the case. "The present proportion of "Saxon words in our language is eight out of ten."—*See Ingram's Inaugural Lecture. Oxford, 1807.*

The Kinge mid his folke
 To his mete verde,
 And mucle his dugethe
 Drem was an hirede.
 Tha Quene, an other halve,
 Her hereberwe isohte ;
 Heo halfde of wif-monne
 Wunder ani moni en :
 Tha the King was iseten
 Mid his monnen to his mete,
 To than Kinge com tha biscop
 Seind *Dubrig*, the was swa god,
 And nom of his hafde
 His kinc-helm hæhne,
 (For than mucle golde
 The Kinge hine beren n'alde)
 And dude enne lasse crune
 On thas Kinges hafde ;
 And seoth—then he gon do
 Athere Quene alswo.*

The meaning of this singular specimen of our vernacular poetry in the time of Richard I. may be explained as follows : remarking however, in the way, that the paucity of Norman words throughout the whole poem is a satisfactory proof, that the struggle between the two languages had terminated so early as the latter end of the twelfth century, in the complete triumph of the Saxon over the

* Layoman's translation of Wace's *Brut*. Ellis's *Early English Poets*. P. 77.

intruding tongue ; and that the foundations were by that time securely laid, of the present language of our country.

“ When the mass was sung, out of church
 “ (kirk) they thronged. The king with his
 “ folk (attendants) to his meat (dinner) fared
 “ (went), and many of his nobility. There
 “ was joy in the household. The queen, on
 “ the other side, her harbour (bower or apart-
 “ ment) sought. She had of women wonder
 “ a many one (a wonderful number.)

“ When the King was sat down, with his
 “ attendants, to his dinner, to the King came
 “ the Bishop, St. Dubric, who was so good,
 “ and took (*nim*, Shakespeare) from off the
 “ King’s head, his king-helm (royal crown);
 “ for so much gold (heavy a crown) the King
 “ would not bear on his head ; and placed a
 “ less crown on the King’s head ; and after-
 “ wards (sith-then) he went and did the same
 “ to the Queen also.”*

* The rapid progress made by our language to its present construction and orthography is forcibly evinced by the following example of the nature of English composition in the fourteenth century, compared with the above cited poetry of the twelfth. It is an interesting extract

It may be worth observing, perhaps, that our present language manifests its Saxon parentage, and evinces how slight the corruption is which it received from the Norman, not only by the multiplicity of derivatives from the former, and the comparatively few words of the latter tongue which can be detected in it; but also from its whole idiom and construction, which are Anglo-Saxon throughout. In the northern counties of

from Trevisa, (given by Dr. Hickes) and points out one great source of the improvement which had taken place in the vernacular tongue. "John Cornwaile, a master of grammar, changed the lere in grammar scole, and construction of Frenche into Englische; and Richard Pincriche lerned the manere techynge of him, as other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of our Lorde a thousand three hundred and fourscore and five, and of the seconde Kynge Richard, after the Conquest nyne, and alle the gramere scoles of Engilond, children leveth Frensche, and construeth and lerneth an Englische, and haveth thereby advantage in oon side, and disadvantage, in another side. Here advantage is, that they lerneth her gramer in lasse tyme than children were wont to doo; disadvantage is, that now children of gramer scole conneth not more Frensche, than can her lift heele; and that is great harm for him, and they schulle passe the see, and travaille in strange landes, and in many other places. Also gentilmen havith now moche left for to teche here children Frensche."—*Thesaur. Prof. tom. i. pagel7.*

England, indeed, many traces of the *Danish* may be detected, from the circumstance of great bodies of that people having made a settlement in those parts ; while a little further to the northward, in the eastern lowlands of Scotland, the old Saxon is spoken in almost its original purity, having been imported and planted there by the fugitive Edgar Atheling, and the number of Saxon families, who, at the Conquest, were established in those remote parts.

RANKS IN SOCIETY.—When we take a view of the **CONDITIONS** of social life in the time of Richard the First, and compare them with those which at present subsist among us, the comparison will not only prove very flattering and satisfactory to Englishmen of modern times, but may probably suggest some feelings of gratitude to our ancestors, who, by their generous struggles, on various occasions, progressively emancipated the mass of the community from the shackles and privations,

which they endured six hundred years ago, and wrought out that reasonable and wholesome equalization in personal, political, and civil rights, which we all now enjoy, from the prince on his throne to the peasant in his cottage.

Liberal as the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon system of legislation might be with respect to the free or privileged classes, it recognized, notwithstanding, the principle of *slavery*,—considerable numbers of the population being condemned to bondage, and sold and transferred from one proprietor to another, together with the estates on which they laboured, with as much frequency and disregard as the other live stock on the alienated property. No amelioration in this respect was introduced by the Norman conquest. “On the contrary,” as Dr. Henry remarks, “many of the English, who had formerly been free, having been taken prisoners at the battle of Hastings, or in some of the subsequent revolts, were reduced to slavery; and thought themselves very happy, if they preserved their lives, though they lost their freedom. The

“ Norman conquerors, indeed, for some time
 “ treated their slaves with so much severity,
 “ that a cotemporary writer declines giving a
 “ description of it, ‘because its inhuman cruelty
 “ ‘ would appear incredible to posterity.’ ”

Under the Norman kings, therefore, (at least as far down as the epoch now under consideration,) the different conditions of social life, which England exhibited, may be enumerated as follows. “ First, the *Serfs* or *Slaves*. “ The condition of all these unhappy people, “ in this period, was not equally abject and “ wretched. There were different degrees of “ servitude, and different kinds of slaves that “ were called by different names, viz.—1. Vil- “ leins in gross, who were the personal property “ of their masters, and performed the lowest “ and most laborious offices about their masters’ “ houses. This class of slaves seems to have “ been very numerous; for Roger Hoveden “ tells us, that from the reign of William I. to “ his own time in the reign of King John, “ there was hardly a house or even cottage in “ Scotland, in which there was not to be found “ an English slave. It is not to be imagined

“ that their more opulent neighbours the
 “ Normans and English were worse provided
 “ than the Scots with domestic slaves. They
 “ had, indeed, such great numbers of them’
 “ that they exported and sold many of these
 “ unhappy persons in foreign countries.

“ 2. Villains regardant, or predial slaves, who
 “ lived in the country, and cultivated the
 “ lands of their masters, to which they were
 “ annexed. These were in a better condition
 “ than domestic slaves, and had an imperfect
 “ kind of property in their houses and furni-
 “ ture, and in the little gardens and small
 “ pieces of pround which they were allowed
 “ to cultivate, at leisure times, for their own
 “ subsistence. But still their persons and
 “ properties were so much in the power of
 “ their masters, that they granted or sold them
 “ to whom they pleased. These two formed
 “ a very numerous class of slaves, by whom
 “ the demesnes of all the earls, barons, bishops,
 “ abbots, and great men of England, were cul-
 “ tivated. The villains belonging to some of
 “ the richest abbeyes amounted to two thousand.

“ 3. Cottars (who in the barbarous Latin of
 “ those times were called *Cottarii*, because
 “ they dwelt in small huts or cottages, near
 “ to the mansions of their masters) composed
 “ another class of slaves frequently mentioned
 “ in Doomsday-book. They were such as,
 “ by the direction of their owners, had been
 “ instructed in some handicraft art or trade, as
 “ that of smiths, carpenters, &c. which they
 “ practised for the benefit of their masters,
 “ and were on the same footing in all respects
 “ with villains or predial slaves.

“ 4. Borders, in Latin *Bordarii*, frequently
 “ occur in Doomsday-book, as distinguished
 “ from villains and cottars; but in what re-
 “ spects they differed from them is not clearly
 “ ascertained. The most probable opinion
 “ seems to be, that they were a kind of upper
 “ domestic servants, who waited at table, (then
 “ called *bord*,) and performed other less ignoble
 “ offices in their masters' houses, in which they
 “ did not reside, but in small huts of their
 “ own, to which little gardens and parcels of
 “ land were annexed, as the fee or reward of
 “ their services. From this short and imperfect

“ enumeration it is sufficiently evident, that a
 “ very great proportion of the people of Eng-
 “ land, in this period, were in a state of ser-
 “ vitude, or rather in a state of slavery.

“ As all the children of slaves were by their
 “ birth in the same degrees of subjection to
 “ the same masters with their parents, this
 “ order of men must have increased exceed-
 “ ingly, if many of them had not from time
 “ to time obtained their freedom. This they
 “ did by various means, but chiefly by uncom-
 “ mon fidelity and diligence, which excited
 “ the gratitude of their masters, and engaged
 “ them to make them free. The granting
 “ freedom to a certain number of slaves was
 “ sometimes enjoined by the clergy, and
 “ sometimes voluntarily performed by peni-
 “ tents, in order to obtain the pardon of
 “ their sins, and for the good of their souls.
 “ The ceremony of manumission was com-
 “ monly performed at church, or at the county-
 “ court, when the master, taking his slave by
 “ the hand, declared that he made him free;
 “ after which he gave him a sword or spear, the
 “ arms of a freeman; and then commanding

“ all the doors to be thrown open, allowed him
 “ to go where he pleased. These freed men
 “ possessed the same place in society in this
 “ period, that the free-lazen had possessed in
 “ the times of the Anglo-Saxons.

“ The middle rank in society, that filled
 “ up the interval between the freed-men on
 “ the one hand, and the noblesse and baronage
 “ on the other, was chiefly composed of three
 “ different bodies of men, which had been
 “ formerly very distinct, but were now united.
 “ 1. Those Anglo-Saxon ceorls who had re-
 “ mained neuter in the quarrel between William
 “ and Harold, and had not joined in any of
 “ the subsequent revolts, and were therefore
 “ allowed to retain their rank as well as their
 “ possessions, though, for their own greater
 “ security, they generally put themselves under
 “ the protection of some great Norman baron,
 “ and became his socmen. 2. Those Anglo-
 “ Saxon thanes and noblemen who were de-
 “ graded from their former rank, and divested
 “ of all power, but permitted to retain a part
 “ of their possessions, under the protection of

“ their conquerors.* The number of these
 “ degraded nobles was not inconsiderable; for
 “ before the end of the reign of William I.
 “ there was hardly so much as one Englishman
 “ who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot;
 “ and for more than a century after, to be an
 “ Englishman was an effectual exclusion from
 “ all preferment. 3. Those Frenchmen,
 “ Normans, and others, who fought under
 “ their several leaders in the conquest of
 “ England, and afterwards settled on the
 “ demesne lands of those leaders, and became

* The domestic splendour and high authority which the author attributes to Cedric the Saxon, did not, probably surround these native thanes after the Conquest; as they were shorn of much of their honours, and deprived of much of their property, by that disastrous event. Previously to William's invasion their situation was very different; “for the possessions of the great thanes,” says Mr. Ruffhead, “were then so immense, that they were not only called *Reguli*, or Petty Kings, but, in effect, they exercised a kind of regal authority within their several jurisdictions. The Saxon policy, likewise, contributed to increase and confirm the aristocratical power. For if a clown obtained a certain portion of land, that is, five hides, he became a thane; if a merchant crossed the sea thrice on his own account, he rose to the same honour; and if a thane improved his estate to the amount of an earldom, then he became an earl.”—*Preface to Statutes at large*, p. x. Note 9.

“ their farmers, socmen, and smaller vassals.
 “ All these different kinds of people were by
 “ degrees blended together, and formed a body,
 “ from which the yeomanry and many of the
 “ gentry of England are descended. The
 “ inhabitants of towns and cities were generally
 “ of this middle rank.

“ The Norman barons formed the highest
 “ order of the state, and occupied the same
 “ place in society after the conquest, that the
 “ Anglo-Saxon thanes had possessed before
 “ that æra, and the nobility and principal
 “ gentry of England now possess. They
 “ were a numerous, opulent, and powerful
 “ body of men, and (when taken in the
 “ most extensive sense) comprehended all
 “ the considerable proprietors of land in
 “ England, especially all those who held
 “ immediately of the king *in capite* by mili-
 “ tary services.* The lesser barons were fre-

* Our author has not in the least exaggerated the ignorance of the Norman Barons; for many of these petty kings could not read, and more were unacquainted with the art of writing. Nothing is more common than the sign of the cross subscribed to ancient charters, instead of the autographs of the barons, with the reason for such a mode of attestation, “ that the party “ could not write.” Dr. Henry has the following proof

“quently called *vavasors*, and corresponded
 “to the lesser Anglo-Saxon thanes, and to
 “the modern English gentlemen of ancient
 “families and large estates. But barons, in
 “this period, most properly were the greater
 “or king’s barons, who held immediately of
 “the king an entire barony, consisting of
 “thirteen knights’ fees, and the third part of
 “a knight’s fee, yielding an annual revenue
 “of £266 : 13s. : 4d., or 400 marks : an

(from the Life of Thomas a Becket) of the ignorance
 of the Norman Barons, in the reign preceding Richard I.
 “After the flight of Becket out of England, A. D. 1164,
 “Henry the Second sent a most splendid embassy to the
 “Pope, consisting of one archbishop, four bishops, three
 “of his own chaplains, the Earl of Arundel, and three
 “other of the greatest barons in the kingdom. When
 “these ambassadors were admitted to an audience,
 “and four of the prelates had harangued the Pope and
 “Cardinals in Latin, the Earl of Arundel stood up, and
 “made a speech in English, which he began in this
 “manner, ‘*We who are illiterate laymen, do not understand*
 “‘*one word of what the Bishops have said to your Holiness.*’
 “We may be almost certain, that if Henry, who was a
 “learned prince, could have found men of learning
 “amongst his nobility, he would have sent them on this
 “embassy. The truth is, that the general ignorance of
 “the laity of all ranks was so well known, that the histo-
 “rians of this period frequently distinguish the clergy
 “from the laity, by calling the former *literati*, and the
 “latter *laici*.”—*History of England*, vol. vi. page 122.

“ ample fortune in the times we are now
 “ considering. Those who held such baronies
 “ were the spiritual and temporal lords of
 “ the kingdom, who enjoyed many singular
 “ privileges and immunities, and in their own
 “ territories were a kind of petty princes (too
 “ often tyrants), possessing both civil and
 “ military jurisdiction over their vassals.”

Such were the barons whom our author has so spiritedly and accurately described in *Ivanhoe*: fierce, vindictive, and proud; oppressive, cruel, and avaricious; but, ever and anon, feeling and acting upon impulses of a grand, lofty, and generous nature. Contemporary historians are full of complaints against, and examples of, their rapine and ruthlessness. “ The Normans,” says Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of the state of England at the death of the Conqueror, “ had now fully executed
 “ the wrath of heaven upon the English.
 “ The great men were inflamed with such a
 “ violent rage for money, that they cared not
 “ by what means it was acquired. The more
 “ they talked of justice, the more injuriously
 “ they acted. They who were called Justi-

"ciarices, were the fountains of all iniquity:
 "Sheriffs and Judges, whose duty it was to
 "pronounce righteous judgments, were the
 "most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plun-
 "derers than common thieves and robbers."
 The castles of these nobles, also, were no
 better than dens of ferocious banditti. "They
 "were filled," says the Saxon Chronicle,
 "with wicked men, or rather devils, who
 "seized alike on men and women whom they
 "supposed to have any money; threw them
 "into prison, and put them to more cruel
 "tortures than ever martyrs underwent:
 "some they suffocated in mud; others they
 "suspended over fires by the feet, hands, or
 "thumbs. The heads of some they bound
 "with cords till their brains were squeezed
 "out; and others were thrown into dungeons,
 "which swarmed with snakes, and toads, and
 "serpents." Heading large troops of their
 retainers, they haunted the highways and
 forests, and with the fury of an inundation
 swept away all that could be included under
 the comprehensive name of plunder, and
 carried it to their strong holds. Nor was

this all : even the dwellings of the lower orders were not spared ; and so great was the terror excited by their night attacks, that no householder closed his door and windows in the evening, without using a special form of prayer for preservation against the nocturnal violence of these dreadful depredators.*

To reduce these very unequally privileged ranks in society to an equitable level ; to give to such as enjoyed rights, a fair proportion of those which nature had intended for them ; and to take away from others that superabundance of them, which they had unreasonably and unjustly assumed ; was a process which required much time for its operation ; and could only be effected by progressive steps, with many a weary and troubled interval between every advance to that complete enjoyment of civil freedom, which Britons may now most fairly boast. In fact, it was not till the era of the REVOLUTION, or more properly speaking, till the ACT of SETTLEMENT, that the rights and liberties of all orders of Englishmen were defined, esta-

* Mat. Paris. Vit. Abb. p. 29, vol. 1.

blished, and placed upon a basis, which we trust will be as permanent as the existence of our soil:

Esto perpetua!

The steps by which this great result has been effected are thus pointed out by Judge Blackstone.

“ First, by the great charter of liberties, which was obtained, sword in hand, from King John, and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in Parliament by King Henry the Third, his son. Which charter contained very few new grants; but as Sir Edward Coke observes, was for the most part declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental laws of England. Afterwards by the statute called *Confirmatio Cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all cathedral churches, and read twice a year to the people; and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those that by word,

“ deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in
 “ any degree infringe it. Next, by a multi-
 “ titude of subsequent corroborating statutes,
 “ (Sir Edward Coke, I think, reckons thirty-
 “ two,) from the First Edward to Henry the
 “ Fourth. Then, after a long interval, by
 “ *the Petition of Right* ; which was a parlia-
 “ mentary declaration of the liberties of the
 “ people, assented to by King Charles the
 “ First in the beginning of his reign.
 “ Which was closely followed by the still
 “ more ample concessions made by that
 “ unhappy Prince to his Parliament, before
 “ the fatal rupture between them ; and by the
 “ many salutary laws, particularly the *Habeas*
 “ *Corpus* Act, passed under the reign of Charles
 “ the Second. To these succeeded the *Bill*
 “ *of Rights*, or declaration delivered by the
 “ Lords and Commons to the Prince and
 “ Princess of Orange, February 13, 1688 ;
 “ and afterwards enacted in Parliament, when
 “ they became King and Queen ; which decla-
 “ ration concludes in these remarkable words :
 “ ‘ and they do claim, demand, and insist
 “ ‘ upon, all and singular the premises, as

“ ‘ their undoubted rights and liberties.’ And
 “ the Act of Parliament itself recognizes all
 “ and singular the rights and liberties asserted
 “ and claimed in the said declaration to be
 “ the true, antient, and indubitable rights of
 “ the people of this kingdom. Lastly,
 “ these liberties were again asserted at the
 “ commencement of the present century, in
 “ the *Act of Settlement*, whereby the crown was
 “ limited to his present Majesty’s illustrious
 “ house; and some new provisions were added,
 “ at the same fortunate era, for better secur-
 “ ing our religion, laws, and liberties; which
 “ the statute declares to be ‘ the birthright of
 “ ‘ the people of England,’ according to the
 “ antient doctrine of the common law.”

CRUSADES.—One of the most remarkable circumstances which have occurred in the history of the modern world,—a circumstance which imparted peculiar cast to the character of Europe for two centuries, and stamped it with an impress which ages did not wholly obliterate,

took place at the conclusion of the eleventh century.* This was the solemn call of Pope Urban II. upon all the christian world to engage in the CRUSADE, or holy war, for the *avowed* purposes of rescuing the city of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, and of securing a safe and easy access, for the pilgrim and the palmer, to the hallowed scenes of our blessed Lord's ministry and passion. The commencement of this extraordinary drama, (through the instrumentality of Peter the hermit,) in which were exhibited the wildest operations of the worst principles of human nature, with occasional but rare displays of its most exalted virtues, is admirably told by the historian of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, whose genius and style were pecu-

* It appears that some military adventures, similar, in a degree, to the Crusades, had been undertaken in Europe long before the systematic establishment of expeditions to Palestine. The invasion of Spain and other parts of Europe by the Saracens and Musselmen had already furnished some employment of this description for the heroic Knights of Christendom: but such wars were only temporary, and chiefly defensive; in which a warm but misguided spirit of religion, and a genuine thirst of chivalrous adventure, and military glory, were the great motives of action in those who served, and those who commanded.

liarly adapted to so romantic, glittering, and picturesque a subject as the Crusades.

“ About twenty years after the conquest of
 “ Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepul-
 “ chre was visited by an hermit of the name
 “ of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the pro-
 “ vince of Picardy in France His resent-
 “ ment and sympathy were excited by his own
 “ injuries and the oppression of the christian
 “ name ; he mingled his tears with those of
 “ the patriarch, and earnestly enquired, if no
 “ hopes of relief could be entertained from the
 “ the Greek emperors of the East. The
 “ patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of
 “ the successors of Constantine. ‘ I will
 “ ‘ rouse,’ exclaimed the hermit, ‘ the martial
 “ ‘ nations of Europe in your cause ;’ and
 “ Europe was obedient to the call of the her-
 “ mit. The astonished patriarch dismissed
 “ him with epistles of credit and complaint,
 “ and no sooner did he land at Bari, than
 “ Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman
 “ pontiff. His stature was small, his appear-
 “ ance contemptible ; but his eye was keen
 “ and lively ; and he possessed that vehemence

“ of speech, which seldom fails to impart
 “ persuasion of the soul. He was born of a
 “ gentleman’s family (for we must now adopt
 “ a modern idiom), and his military service
 “ was under the neighbouring counts of Bou-
 “ logne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he
 “ soon relinquished the sword and the world ;
 “ and if it be true, that his wife, however
 “ noble, was aged and ugly, he might with-
 “ draw, with the less reluctance, from her bed
 “ to a convent, and at length to an hermitage.
 “ In this austere solitude, his body was ema-
 “ ciated, his fancy was inflamed ; whatever he
 “ wished, he believed ; whatever he believed,
 “ he *saw* in dreams and revelations. From
 “ Jerusalem, the pilgrim returned an accom-
 “ plished fanatic ; but as he excelled in the
 “ popular madness of the times, Pope Urban
 “ the Second received him as a prophet,
 “ applauded his glorious design, promised to
 “ support it in a general council, and encou-
 “ raged him to proclaim the deliverance of
 “ the Holy Land. Invigorated by the appro-
 “ bation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary
 “ traversed, with speed and success, the pro-

"vinces of Italy and France. His diet was
 "abstemious, his prayers long and fervent,
 "and the alms which he received with one
 "hand, he distributed with the other: his
 "head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre
 "body was wrapt in a coarse garment; he
 "bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and
 "the ass on which he rode, was sanctified in
 "the public eye by the service of the man of
 "God. He preached to innumerable crowds
 "in the churches, the streets, and the high-
 "ways: the hermit entered with equal confi-
 "dence the palace and the cottage; and the
 "people, for all was people, was impetuously
 "moved by his call to repentance and arms.
 "When he painted the sufferings of the
 "natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every
 "heart was melted to compassion; every
 "breast glowed with indignation, when
 "he challenged the warriors of the age to
 "defend their brethren, and rescue their
 "Saviour: his ignorance of art and language
 "was compensated by sighs, and tears, and
 "ejaculations; and Peter supplied the defi-
 "ciency of reason by loud and frequent ap-

“ peals to Christ and his Mother, to the saints
 “ and angels of paradise, with whom he had
 “ personally conversed. The most perfect
 “ orator of Athens might have envied the
 “ success of his eloquence: the rustic enthusiast
 “ inspired the passions which he felt, and
 “ Christendom expected with impatience the
 “ counsels and decrees of the supreme
 “ pontiff,”*

So captivating to the imagination are the
 high and disinterested principles on which
 the Crusades were *supposed* to have been
 undertaken; such was the novelty and splen-
 dour of the means adopted, and such the
 romantic character of the attempts made, for
 the execution of the apparently great and
 generous plan that it is not a matter of sur-
 prise, many writers, and some of them sensible,
 and, in other respects, judicious ones,† should

* Gibbon's Dec. and Fall of Rom. Emp. vol. xi, p. 1.
 et infra.

* Dr. Johnson, in his notes on Shakespeare, vindicates the Crusades on the principle of self-defence. Dr. Robertson takes a favourable view of their consequences: and Bacon, before them, had justified them also. But the reasoning of Gibbon, in his Dec. and Fall of the Roman Empire; of Berrington, in his *Literary History of*

endeavour both to vindicate the *justice* of the holy wars, and to deduce from them many beneficial *consequences* to mankind in general, and to the nations of Europe in particular. The fancy of the poet, kindled by the glittering scene, caught a spark of the enthusiasm, which animated these heroes of the cross; and "built the lofty rhyme" in praise of the chivalrous leaders in "the bold emprise," and their adventurous followers; while the more sober historian, influenced, in some degree, by the same feelings, and astonished by the singularity, magnitude, and vivacity of the subject, did not penetrate beyond its surface, but transmitted to his reader the dazzling representation of it, which his own superficial view had conveyed to his own fancy. But, "the reign of chivalry is over;" and modern writers, more cool and judicious, have viewed the Crusades, as to their *principle* and *effects*, in their true light; the one as a savage fanaticism; the other as introducing into and entailing upon society a variety of the Middle Ages; and of Mr. Mills, in his History of the Crusades, on the other side of the question, is demonstrative and unanswerable.

evils, which would far outweigh even greater advantages, than all the good consequences vainly imagined to have been produced by them.*

“ From these wars, (says the sagacious Mosheim,) whether just or unjust, innumerable evils of every kind ensued, both in church and state, the remains of which are still felt. Europe was deprived of the greatest part of her inhabitants, an immense quantity of money was carried away to remote regions, and many illustrious and wealthy families either perished entirely, or were reduced to obscurity and beggary ; for the heads of such houses had pawned or sold their estates, to support themselves with necessaries for their jour-

* In the year 1096, “ the Croisés,” remarks Jortin, in his playfully sarcastic manner, “ set out in vast numbers for the holy war. All were not animated with the same sort of zeal. Some went, because they would not leave their friends and companions ; some, who were military men, because they would not pass for poltroons ; some, through levity, and the love of rambling ; some, who were deeply in debt, that they might escape from their creditors. Many monks flung off their frocks, and took up arms ; and an army of women accompanied them dressed like men, and carrying on the trade of prostitutes.”—*Rem. Ecc. Hist.* v. iii. 144.

“ney. Other lords imposed intolerable
 “taxes on their subjects or vassals, who being
 “terrified by such exactions, chose rather to
 “leave their farms and houses, and to join in
 “the croisade. Hence arose the utmost con-
 “fusion and disorder through all Europe. I
 “pass over the pillages, murders, and mas-
 “sacres, committed in all places with impunity
 “by these pious soldiers of God and of Jesus
 “Christ, as they were called, as also new and
 “pernicious rights and privileges to which
 “these wars gave rise and occasion.

“Nor did Christianity suffer less than the
 “state from these miserable wars. The
 “Roman pontiff gained a vast accession of
 “power and dignity. The wealth of the
 “churches and monasteries was many ways
 “considerably increased. The priests and
 “monks, whilst their bishops and abbots were
 “gone into Asia, led lawless and scandalous
 “lives, and indulged themselves in all sorts of
 “vices, without controul. Superstition, which
 “was excessive before, became still more pre-
 “valent among the Latins : for the catalogue
 “of tutelar saints, already very numerous,

“ was augmented with a crew of eastern saints,
 “ unknown before in the western world, and
 “ some of them unknown even at home. An
 “ amazing cargo of reliques was also imported;
 “ for all who returned from Asia, came loaded
 “ with this sort of trash, bought, at a great
 “ price, of cheating and lying Greeks and
 “ Syrians, and either presented them to
 “ churches and religious places, or laid them
 “ up in their own houses, to be preserved
 “ there as an invaluable treasure.”

The number of regular expeditions, which constituted what may be properly called the Crusades, amounted to nine.*

First: that in 1096, led by Godfrey of Bouillon, and his chivalrous companions, Tancred, Bohemond, Raymond of Tholouse, &c.; which resulted in the capture of Jeru-

* Previously to the departure of the first regular Crusade from Europe, a motley band of fanatics and robbers had set off for Palestine, under the direction of Peter the Hermit, assisted by Godescal, a mad or wicked monk. These all found an early grave in Hungary, or Asia, before they approached the place of their destination. More than a quarter of a million of Europeans perished, says Mr. Mills, ere the Crusaders took the field against the Saracen's.—*Hist. Crusades*, vol.i. 76, 79.

salem from the unbelievers, on the 15th July, 1099.

The incredible difficulties which were endured by the Crusaders, and the enormous loss which they sustained, in this their first attempt to recover the Holy Land, were most appalling ; and would have operated as a warning against all succeeding speculations of a similar description, had not the papal court, whose interest it was to encourage such quixotic endeavours, availed itself of the principle which its policy had first excited—a frenzied enthusiasm, to push on the population of Europe to further adventures of the same hopeless and destructive nature. To give, once for all, a view of the horrors which the christians encountered in these desperate expeditions, it may be sufficient to extract from Gibbon an account of their state and sufferings in their defence of Antioch :

“ In the eventful period of the siege and defence of Antioch, the crusaders were alternately exalted by victory, or sunk in despair ; either swelled with plenty, or emaciated with hunger. A speculative reasoner

“ might suppose, that their faith had a strong
 “ and serious influence on their practice ; and
 “ that the soldiers of the cross, the deliverers
 “ of the holy sepulchre, prepared themselves
 “ by a sober and virtuous life for the daily
 “ contemplation of martyrdom. Experience
 “ blows away this charitable illusion : and
 “ seldom does the history of profane war dis-
 “ play such scenes of intemperance and pros-
 “ titution as were exhibited under the walls
 “ of Antioch. The grove of Daphne no
 “ longer flourished ; but the Syrian air was
 “ still impregnated with the same vices : the
 “ christians were seduced by every temptation
 “ that nature either prompts or reprobates ;
 “ the authority of the chiefs was despised ;
 “ and sermons and edicts were alike fruitless
 “ against those scandalous disorders, not less
 “ pernicious to military discipline, than repug-
 “ nant to evangelic purity. In the first days
 “ of the siege and possession of Antioch, the
 “ Franks consumed with wanton and thought-
 “ less prodigality the frugal subsistence of
 “ weeks and months : the desolate country no
 “ longer yielded a supply ; and from that

“country they were at length excluded by the
 “arms of the besieging Turks. Disease, the
 “faithful companion of want, was envenomed
 “by the rains of the winter, the summer
 “heats, unwholesome food, and the close im-
 “prisonment of multitudes. The pictures of
 “famine and pestilence are always the same,
 “and always disgusting ; and our imagination
 “may suggest the nature of their suffer-
 “ings, and their resources. The remains of
 “treasure or spoil were eagerly ‘lavished in
 “the purchase of the vilest nourishment ;
 “and dreadful must have been the calamities
 “of the poor, since, after paying three marks
 “of silver for a goat, and fifteen for a lean
 “camel, the Count of Flanders was reduced
 “to beg a dinner, and Duke Godfrey to bor-
 “row a horse. Sixty thousand horses had
 “been reviewed in the camp : before the end
 “of the siege they were diminished to two
 “thousand, and scarcely two hundred fit for
 “service could be mustered on the day of
 “battle. Weakness of body, and terror of
 “mind, extinguished the ardent enthusiasm
 “of the pilgrims ; and every motive of

“honour and religion was subdued by the
 “desire of life. Among the chiefs, three
 “heroes may be found without fear or re-
 “proach : Godfrey of Bouillon was supported
 “by his magnanimous piety ; Bohemond, by
 “ambition and interest ; and Tancred de-
 “clared, in the true spirit of chivalry, that as
 “long as he was at the head of forty knights,
 “he would never relinquish the enterprise of
 “Palestine. But the Count of Tholouse and
 “Provence was suspected of a voluntary in-
 “disposition ; the Duke of Normandy was
 “recalled from the sea-shore by the censures
 “of the church ; Hugh the Great, though he
 “led the vanguard of the battle, embraced
 “an ambiguous opportunity of returning
 “to France ; and Stephen count of Char-
 “tres basely deserted the standard which he
 “bore, and the council in which he presided.
 “The soldiers were discouraged by the flight
 “of William viscount of Melun, surnamed
 “the *Carpenter*, from the weighty strokes of
 “his axe ; and the saints were scandalised by
 “the fall of Peter the Hermit, who, after
 “arming Europe against Asia, attempted to

“escape from the penance of a necessary fast.
 “Of the multitude of recreant warriors, the
 “names (says an historian) are blotted from
 “the book of life ; and the opprobrious epitaph
 “of the rope-dancers was applied to the de-
 “serters who dropt in the night from the walls
 “of Antioch. The Emperor Alexius, who
 “seemed to advance to the succour of the
 “Latins, was dismayed by the assurance of
 “their hopeless condition. They expected
 “their fate in silent despair ; oaths and
 “punishment were tried without effect ; and
 “to rouse the soldiers to the defence of the
 “walls, it was found necessary to set fire to
 “their quarters.”

The second crusade was that under Conrad the Third of Germany, and Louis the Seventh of France.

The third was that in which our own Richard the First displayed his romantic prowess.

The fourth took place at the instigation of Pope Celestine III. under the German Princes, in 1195.

The fifth (the fourth in Gibbon's enume-

ation), which terminated, not in the conquest of Palestine, but in the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders, and the fall of the Greek empire, originated in 1200.

The sixth was decreed, in 1215, by the fourth council of Lateran.

The seventh, under the Count of Champagne, and Richard duke of Cornwall, was sanctioned by the council of Spoleto, in 1234.

The eighth was undertaken by St. Louis of France, in 1244; who fulfilled his vow in 1249. He returned in 1254, and embarked again for Palestine in 1268; but died in his way to the Holy Land, in Africa, in 1270.

The ninth and last crusade was headed by Prince Edward, in 1271, afterwards Edward the First. It was during this expedition that the interesting incident is said to have occurred, which has immortalized the name of his Queen Eleanora, by attributing to her an act of such disinterested conjugal affection, as is only to be found in the heart of *woman*. "Pity it is," says the quaint Fuller, "that so pretty a story should not be true, with all the miracles of love's legends;" and, indeed,

however probable the well-known generous feeling and deep affection of the sex may render the anecdote, it must be admitted, that the only authority on which it rests, is that of Roderic Santius, a Spanish historian, who wrote two hundred years after the event which he has recorded. Still the circumstance which induced this real or imaginary manifestation of Eleanora's attachment to her husband, is a matter of undoubted record. It was as follows :

Edward distinguished himself so much by his activity and skill, that an attempt was made to assassinate him. In Persia and Syria a strange description of people had resided for above a century, known by the name of *assassins*. In Syria they lived in the mountainous country about Tortosa, but subordinate to the Persian chief. They are described as performing, implicitly, the orders of their sheik ; and by an anomalous depravation of their moral habits, they were frequently employed to murder those, whether Christians or Mahomedans, with whom their leaders were dissatisfied. No Jesuit obeyed more passively the

commands of his general. Even the celebrated Saladin was once the subject of their attack. A mystical belief that the divine spirit always animated the person of their Imaum, sanctified every enterprise which he enjoined. By one of these the life of Edward was attempted.

Certain civilities which had passed between this Prince and the Turkish emir at Joppa led to the crime. The Turk was upbraided by his Sultan for the intimacy. The emir, perhaps for safety, declared that it was meant to ensnare. It was at least converted to this purpose, and a youthful *assassin* was sent with letters to Edward from his Turkish friend. Edward was reclining on his couch in the heat of the evening, clothed in a slight tunic; his friends were in a distant corner; and the youth searching his belt, as for more secret communications, suddenly drew an envenomed dagger, and struck at the Prince's side. Edward caught the blow on his arm, felled the assailant to the ground; and wrenching his weapon, plunged it into his body. The analyst, who is most circumstantial in his account, describes the Master of the Temple, as advi-

sing medicaments to make the poison harmless, and the surgeons as dressing the wound. The Sultan disavowed the assassination ; and a truce of ten years was agreed upon, during which Edward embarked for Europe.*

With this crusade were closed all these Quixotic expeditions to the eastern world ; for although Gregory the Ninth, at the Council of Lyons, decreed a new one, which was embraced by Philip of France, Michael Palæologus, and the King of the two Sicilies, the scheme was never executed ; and though our Henry the Fifth, on his death bed, mentioned to those around him, that, if it had pleased God to have spared his life, he had intended to have conquered and rebuilt Jerusalem, the declaration was, probably, rather the suggestion of a temporary pious feeling, than the expression of a plan which he had long or seriously resolved in his mind.† The nations of Europe, indeed, had now acquired more sober views of religion, and juster notions of policy, than those which had influenced their ancestors of the twelfth

* Turner's History of England, vol. ii, p. 36.

† Speed, 660.

and thirteenth centuries. The growing prosperity and increasing complexity in the politics of each respective government, demanded that its attention should be chiefly directed to these interesting home objects ; and if, amid their more busy and better pursuits, they cast back an eye to the glittering scenes of the crusading system, it would be with disgust at the injustice, or contempt at the fanaticism, in which they originated. They would feel only regret at the millions which had been expended, and the myriads who had been sacrificed, in such unholy warfare, and scarcely be inclined to allow, that more than *one* out of the many advantageous results which they have been supposed to produce, had the slightest foundation in fact—the breaking of the power of the feudal aristocracy.

“ In one respect (says Gibbon) I can indeed
 “ perceive the accidental operation of the
 “ crusades ; not so much in producing a be-
 “ nefit, as in removing an evil. The larger
 “ portion of the inhabitants of Europe was
 “ chained to the soil, without freedom, or
 “ property, or knowledge ; and the two orders

“ of ecclesiastics and nobles, whose numbers
 “ were comparatively small, alone deserved
 “ the name of citizens and men. This op-
 “ pressive system was supported by the arts
 “ of the clergy, and the swords of the barons.
 “ The authority of the priests operated in the
 “ darker ages as a salutary antidote ; they
 “ prevented the total extinction of letters;
 “ mitigated the fierceness of the times; shel-
 “ tered the poor and defenceless; and pre-
 “ served or revived the peace and order of
 “ civil society. But the independence, rapine,
 “ and discord of the feudal lords, were un-
 “ mixed with any semblance of good ; and
 “ every hope of industry and improvement
 “ was crushed by the iron weight of the martial
 “ aristocracy. Among the causes that under-
 “ mined that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place
 “ must be allowed to the crusades. The estates
 “ of the barons were dissipated, and their race
 “ often extinguished, in these costly and peri-
 “ lous expeditions. Their poverty extorted
 “ from their pride those charters of freedom
 “ which unlocked the fetters of the slave,
 “ secured the farm of the peasant, and the

“ shop of the artificer ; and gradually restored
 “ a substance and a soul to the most numerous
 “ and useful part of the community. The
 “ conflagration which destroyed the tall and
 “ barren trees of the forest, gave air and scope
 “ to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive
 “ plants of the soil.”*

**KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS; KNIGHTS TEM-
 PLARS; and TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.**—Intimately
 connected with the history of the crusades,
 and forming one of the manifold temporary
 evils which sprang out of them, was the insti-
 tution of the three ecclesiastic military orders,
 the Knights Hospitallers, Knights Templars,
 and Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusa-
 lem. The learned and dispassionate Mosheim
 has given the following clear, succinct, and
 impartial account of their rise, corruption,
 decay, and disappearance.

* Hist. Dec., &c. vol. xi. p. 293. It must not be con-
 cealed, however, that both Dr. Berrington and Mr. Mills
 deny that even this beneficial consequence was produced
 by the crusades.

“ These bloody wars between the Christians
 “ and the Mohammedans gave rise to *three*
 “ *famous military orders*, whose office it was
 “ to destroy the robbers that infested the pub-
 “ lic roads, to harass the Moslems by perpetual
 “ inroads and warlike achievements; to assist
 “ the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devo-
 “ tion of the times conducted to the holy
 “ sepulchre; and to perform other services
 “ that tended to the general good. The first
 “ order was that of the *Knights of St. John*
 “ of *Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and
 “ particularly that of *Hospitallers*, from an
 “ hospital in that city, dedicated to St. John
 “ the Baptist, in which certain pious and cha-
 “ ritable brethren were constantly employed
 “ in relieving and refreshing with necessary
 “ supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims,
 “ who were daily arriving at Jerusalem. When
 “ this city became the metropolis of a new
 “ kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were
 “ so highly augmented by the liberality of
 “ several princes, and the pious donations of
 “ such opulent persons as frequented the holy
 “ places, that they far surpassed the wants of

“ those whom they were designed to cherish
 “ and relieve. Hence it was that Raymond
 “ du Puy, who was the ruler of this charitable
 “ house, offered to the King of Jerusalem to
 “ make war upon the Mohammedans at his
 “ own expense, seconded by his brethren, who
 “ served under him in this famous hospital.
 “ Baldwin II. to whom this proposal was made,
 “ readily accepted it, and the enterprise was
 “ solemnly approved and confirmed by the
 “ authority of the Roman pontiff. Thus was
 “ the world surprised with the strange trans-
 “ formation of a devout fraternity, who had
 “ lived remote from the noise and tumult of
 “ arms, in the performance of works of cha-
 “ rity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy
 “ band of warriors. The whole order was
 “ on this occasion divided into three classes :
 “ the first contained the *knights*, or soldiers
 “ of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath
 “ their swords in the Christian cause ; in the
 “ second were comprehended the *priests*, who
 “ were to officiate in the churches that be-
 “ longed to the order ; and the third, the *serv-*
 “ *ing brethren*, or the soldiers of low condi-

“tion. This celebrated order gave, upon
 “many occasions, eminent proofs of resolution
 “and valour, and acquired immense opulence
 “by heroic exploits. When Palestine was
 “irrecoverably lost, the knights passed into
 “the isle of Cyprus ; they afterwards made
 “themselves masters of the isle of Rhodes,
 “where they maintained themselves for a long
 “time ; but being finally driven thence by the
 “Turks, they received from the Emperor
 “Charles V. a grant of the island of Malta,
 “where their chief, or grand commander
 “still resides.

“Another order, which was entirely of a
 “military nature, was that of the *Knights*
 “*Templars*, so called from a palace adjoining
 “to the temple of Jerusalem, which was ap-
 “propriated to their use for a certain time by
 “Baldwin II. The foundations of this order
 “were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118,
 “by Hugues des Payens, Geoffry of St. Al-
 “demar, or of St. Amour, as some will have
 “it, and seven other persons whose names are
 “unknown ; but it was not before the year
 “1228, that it acquired a proper degree of

“ stability, by being solemnly confirmed in
 “ the council of Troyes, and subjected to a
 “ rule of discipline drawn up by St. Bernard.
 “ These warlike templars were to defend and
 “ support the cause of christianity by force of
 “ arms, to have inspection over the public roads,
 “ and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit
 “ Jerusalem, against the insults and barbari-
 “ ties of the Moslems. The order flourished
 “ for some time, and acquired, by the valour of
 “ its knights, immense riches, and an eminent
 “ degree of military renown ; but as their
 “ prosperity increased, their vices were multi-
 “ plied, and their arrogance, luxury, and
 “ inhuman cruelty, rose at last to such a
 “ monstrous height, that their privileges were
 “ revoked, and their order suppressed, with
 “ the most terrible circumstances of infamy
 “ and severity, by a decree of the Pope and of
 “ the council of Vienne, in Dauphiné, as may
 “ be seen in our history of the fourteenth
 “ century.

“ The third order resembled the first in
 “ this respect, that though it was a military
 “ institution, the care of the poor, and relief

“ of the sick were not excluded from the
 “ services it prescribed. Its members were
 “ distinguished by the title of *Teutonic*
 “ *Knights of St Mary of Jerusalem*; and as
 “ to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree
 “ of certainty, trace it farther back than the
 “ year 1190, during the siege of Acre or
 “ Ptolemais, though there are historians adven-
 “ turous enough to seek its origin (which
 “ they place at Jerusalem) in a more remote
 “ period. During the long and tedious siege
 “ of Acre, several pious and charitable mer-
 “ chants of Bremen and Lubeck, moved with
 “ compassion at the sight of the miseries
 “ which the besiegers suffered in the midst of
 “ their success, devoted themselves entirely to
 “ the service of the sick and wounded soldiers,
 “ and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where
 “ they gave constant attendance to all such
 “ unhappy objects as had recourse to their
 “ charity. This pious undertaking was so
 “ agreeable to the German princes, who were
 “ present at this terrible siege, that they
 “ thought proper to form a fraternity of
 “ German knights to bring it to perfection.

“ Their resolution was highly approved by
 “ Pope Celestine III. who confirmed the new
 “ order by a bull issued out the 23d of Fe-
 “ bruary, A. D. 1192. This order was
 “ entirely appropriated to the Germans ; and
 “ even of them none were admitted as mem-
 “ bers of it, but such as were of an illustrious
 “ birth. The support of christianity, the de-
 “ fence of the Holy Land, and the relief of the
 “ poor and needy, were the important duties
 “ and services to which the Teutonic knights
 “ devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Aus-
 “ terity and frugality were the first charac-
 “ teristics of this rising order, and the
 “ equestrian garment, bread and water, were
 “ the only rewards which the knights derived
 “ from their generous labours. But as, accord-
 “ ing to the fate of human things, prosperity
 “ generates corruption, so it happened that
 “ this austerity was of a short duration, and
 “ diminished in proportion as the revenues
 “ and possessions of the order were aug-
 “ mented. The Teutonic knights, after their
 “ retreat from Palestine, made themselves
 “ masters of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and

“Semigallia; but in process of time their victorious arms received several checks; and when the light of the Reformation arose upon Germany, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they had in that country; though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories.”

It is highly creditable to the amiable Cardinal Fleury that, though a firm Catholic, and of high dignity in the church of Rome, he should have had the good sense to perceive, and the boldness to acknowledge, the incongruity of the duties involved in the vows of these military ecclesiastics. His observations on the subject evince at once his sincerity and his piety.

“Next to the clergy, let us consider the military orders, a kind of *Religious* persons unknown to antiquity. Until the twelfth century, it was thought enough to account the profession of arms permitted to Christians, and compatible with salvation; it was not yet contrived to make it a state of perfection, and to join to it the three vows essential to a religious life. And in truth, the observation of these vows requires great

" precautions against the ordinary temptations ;
 " it requires solitude, or at least retirement,
 " to avoid the occasions of sin ; recollection
 " and meditation on religious truths ; and
 " frequent prayer, to acquire tranquillity of
 " mind, and purity of heart. Now it seems
 " very difficult to join these practices with a
 " military life, full of action, and continually
 " exposed to the most dangerous temptations,
 " or, at least, to the most violent passions.

" For these reasons warriors would have
 " more need than other men to cultivate their
 " minds, by reading, conversation, and wise
 " reflections. As we suppose them bold and
 " brave, a right use of their reason is more
 " necessary for them than for others, that
 " they may employ their courage in a proper
 " manner, and keep it within just bounds.
 " Valour, by itself, only makes men brutal ;
 " and reason, by itself, makes them not cou-
 " rageous. They want both valour and reason.
 " Now our old knights had never studied, and
 " most of them could not read ; so that the
 " common prayers of the Templars consisted
 " only in assisting at the office which was sung

“ by the clerks. I should also much doubt
 “ whether they were sufficiently guarded
 “ against the temptations inseparable from the
 “ exercise of arms, and in the midst of battle
 “ could preserve such an even temper as not
 “ to be carried away by emotions of wrath
 “ and malice, by desire of revenge, and
 “ sentiments not conformable to humanity
 “ and justice. According to the ancient dis-
 “ cipline of the church, some sort of penance
 “ was required of those who had shed blood
 “ even in the justest wars ; and we find some
 “ remains of this discipline in the ninth century.

“ I am willing to suppose that the Templars,
 “ and other knights of the military orders,
 “ gave shining examples of virtue in their first
 “ zeal. But it must be confessed that they
 “ soon degenerated ; and that heavy complaints
 “ were made of them, even in the twelfth
 “ century, not long after their institution.
 “ They abused their privileges, extending
 “ them beyond all bounds, despising the
 “ bishops, from whose jurisdiction they were
 “ exempt, and even obeying the pope no farther
 “ than it pleased them. They kept not their

“ treaties with infidels, and sometimes entered
 “ into schemes with them for the destruction
 “ of Christians. Many of them led a corrupt
 “ and scandalous life. In fine, the crimes of
 “ the Templars were carried to such an excess,
 “ that it became needful to abolish their order
 “ at the general Council of Vienne, before
 “ two hundred years were elapsed from their
 “ establishment ; and the facts of which they
 “ stand accused are so atrocious, that we
 “ cannot read them without horror, and can
 “ scarcely believe them, though proved by
 “ authentic procedures.

“ As to the military orders which still sub-
 “ sist, I reverence the authority of the church
 “ which hath approved them, and the virtues
 “ of many particular persons in each of them.
 “ We have in our days known such among
 “ the Knights of Malta. But I leave it to
 “ the conscience of each individual, to examine
 “ whether he lives like a truly *Religious* man,
 “ and faithfully observes his *Rule*. I parti-
 “ cularly intreat all those who embrace this
 “ state of life, and all parents who place their
 “ children in it, to do it with solemn deli-

"beration, and not to be led merely by the
 "example of others ; to consider attentively,
 "before God, what are the obligations in-
 "cumbent on that state, according to the
 "intention of the church, and not according
 "to those relaxations which it tolerates ; and
 "above all, what are the motives for embracing
 "this profession ; whether they be to secure
 "eternal life, and to aim at Christian per-
 "fection, or to participate of the revenues of
 "the order, and obtain offices of dignity ; for
 "it is quite preposterous to make a vow of
 "poverty with a view to acquire riches."

"The facts" charged upon the Knights
 Templars, to which Fleury alludes in the above
 extract, are indeed most "atrocious ;" and
 though we must certainly deduct much from
 the accusation against them, since it was
 principally advanced and supported by their
 inveterate enemy Philip the Fair, whose avarice
 had been excited by their enormous possessions ;
 yet sufficient grounds appear to have existed,
 to render the destruction of an order so rich,
 proud, insolent, vicious, and, at best, utterly

useless, an act of justice, as well as of public utility.

What degree of credit may be due to the charges and the evidence made and adduced against them, (as far as they regard the English Knights Templars,) we have an opportunity of estimating, from the proceedings in this case preserved in the Concilia of Wilkins. They are thus condensed by Mr. Turner.*

“ It was in 1309 that the letters of the Pope
 “ Clement, ‘ *plumbea bulla bullatæ*,’ and
 “ therefore, perhaps, more technically to be
 “ called his Bull, were read to the Bishop of
 “ London, and others, sitting in his episcopal
 “ hall. In this the Pope stated, that having
 “ been privately informed that the Master and
 “ Knights Templars had lapsed into apostacy,
 “ idolatry, profligacy, and heresy, he had been
 “ unwilling to believe it. That Philip the
 “ King of France had made many represen-
 “ tations to him on the subject: That a knight
 “ of the order, of high nobility, had sworn
 “ privately before him, that every new candi-

* Hist. Eng. vol. ii. 129. Acta contra Templarios, ap. Wilk. Concil. vol. ii. p. 329; 401.

“ date, before he was received into the order, ,
 “ denied Christ, spat contemptuously upon a ,
 “ cross, and did other abominable things: That
 “ official enquiries had been made on this
 “ subject, and various depositions and con-
 “ fessions received, which shewed that some
 “ were delinquents in many things, and others
 “ in fewer: That therefore, as he could not
 “ himself enquire into the conduct of the
 “ order in every part of the world, where it
 “ was spread, he authorised them personally
 “ to commence, in the diocese of Canterbury,
 “ a careful examination of the evil complained
 “ of. He reduces these charges into eighty-
 “ seven heads, of which the substance may be
 “ comprised in the following paragraph:—

“ That every new knight, on being admitted,
 “ or soon afterwards, denied Christ, or God,
 “ and the Virgin, and sometimes the Saints ;
 “ that the brotherhood generally did this, or
 “ the greater part; that they called our Savi-
 “ our a false prophet, and said he did not die
 “ to redeem mankind, and that they had no
 “ hope of salvation from him; that they spat
 “ on the cross, trampled on it, and defiled it;

“ that they worshipped a cat, in contempt of
 “ Christianity; that some, or all, did not
 “ believe in the Eucharist; that they thought
 “ their master or commanders could absolve
 “ them from all sin; that they kissed their
 “ new brother on indecent parts of his body;
 “ that their admissions and ceremonies were
 “ clandestine, and confined to themselves;
 “ that they committed loathsome vices; that
 “ they had idols, some with three heads, some
 “ with one, and some with a human skull,
 “ which they worshipped, and to which they
 “ ascribed the power of giving wealth, making
 “ trees germinate, and flowers blow; that they
 “ swore to increase their order by any means;
 “ that they enjoined each other to strict
 “ secrecy, and that they punished with death
 “ or the dungeon, those who revealed their
 “ secrets.

“ On these accusations the inquisitorial
 “ commissioners reported, that they had com-
 “ municated their commission to the Templars
 “ of London, and proceeded to examine them
 “ and other witnesses separately and apart

“ from each other; and they detail the evidence
“ which they had obtained.

“ The first examined was one, who had been
“ a Knight Templar five years : He had de-
“ clared, that he had been admitted at Bath,
“ before a hundred secular persons ; that he
“ asked the order to admit him to serve God
“ and the Virgin ; that he was then informed
“ of the rules of the order, that he should do
“ nothing of his own will, but according to
“ the will of the commander ; that he then
“ swore to obey his superior, to have no pro-
“ perty, to preserve chastity, not to consent
“ to any one being unjustly disinherited, nor
“ lay violent hands on any one, except Saracens,
“ or except in self-defence ; that this oath was
“ taken before two brothers only, and that he
“ had never made any other profession.

“ The three next examined declared their
“ admission to have been secret, and that it
“ was the rule of the order that it should be
“ so. One of them, keeper of the Temple
“ chapel in London, was questioned, article by
“ article, on the charges. He positively denied
“ all the imputations, except the secrecy of

“ their admissions, which he understood to be
 “ one of the original institutes of the order.
 “ All the others gave similar answers; although
 “ some declared that their admissions had not
 “ been private.

“ Fifty Knights Templars, from different
 “ counties in England, were sent to the Tower;
 “ and other persons were examined, about the
 “ secrecy and time of day of the admission,
 “ but no criminating facts were obtained.

“ New questions were then proposed to
 “ many Knights Templars; but nothing un-
 “ favourable was elicited, except that the
 “ admissions were secret, that the chapters
 “ were usually held at nights, and that the
 “ great master granted absolutions.

“ Other evidences, however, deposed many
 “ things on hearsay, confirmatory of the
 “ accusations. A Yorkshire knight swore,
 “ that a Templar once, at dinner at his house,
 “ declaimed against Christianity, and gave his
 “ wife a book to read on the same topics. A
 “ country rector said, that a priest had told
 “ him that he had taken the confession of a
 “ Knight Templar, who proved the charges ;

“ and many rumours and stories, at second
“ and third hand, were also repeated.

“ More direct evidence was obtained, in
“ July 1311, from a Knight Templar who
“ had fled, and was taken at Salisbury. He
“ swore that he was compelled, by the grand
“ master and two knights holding drawn
“ swords, to deny Christ, and to spit upon
“ the cross ; that they did not adore a cat in
“ England, but he had heard they did so in
“ other parts. Another knight at first denied
“ the accusations, but on a subsequent exami-
“ nation declared, that he had been forced to
“ deny Christ, and that he had heard one of
“ the grand masters say that the smallest hair
“ on a Saracen’s beard was of more value than
“ all the body of Christ. Another Templar
“ admitted that he had been forced into apos-
“ tacy. From these and other confessions,
“ which are certainly not free from reasonable
“ suspicion as to their veracity ; but still more
“ from the general unpopularity and ill opi-
“ nion under which the Templars laboured,
“ their order was dissolved by the Pope, and
“ all its property confiscated.

“ The truth probably was, that the order
 “ had become useless, and, from its great
 “ affluence, dissolute and sensual. Many,
 “ and perhaps most of its members, from that
 “ Epicurean state of mind and habit to which
 “ wealthy luxury naturally leads, may have
 “ thrown off all regard for either religion or
 “ virtue ; and some, from enlightened reason,
 “ may have emancipated themselves from the
 “ superstitions of the day. But that they
 “ should have worshipped cats or calves ; or
 “ made the abnegation of Christianity, or
 “ spitting on the cross, any part of the cere-
 “ mony of their admission into the order, is
 “ wholly incredible. Personal vice and irre-
 “ ligious may be believed of them ; but not
 “ that absurd conspiracy against the faith of
 “ Christendom, of which they were accused.
 “ Their dissolution was however a benefit to
 “ the world ; because all societies, that place
 “ mysterious secrecy and implicit obedience to
 “ its leaders among their essential rules, are
 “ dangerous to public order, and disadvan-
 “ tageous to public morals, being founded on
 “ principles that are inconsistent with both.

This rich and luxurious order had large possessions in our own country, as well as churches in London, Cambridge, Bristol, Canterbury, Dover, Warwick, and other places. Of the first of these sacred edifices, (which was built in the reign of Henry the Second, and dedicated to God and our blessed Lady, by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185,) a part of the original structure remains, and covers the dust of eleven of the Knights; some of whose effigies appear, cross-legged, on the flat stones which memorialize them. Three of these sculptured figures are intended to represent William Marshall the elder, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1219; William Marshall, his son, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1291; and Gilbert Marshall, his brother, Earl of Pembroke, slain in a tournament at Hertford, in the year 1241. The church stands nearly in the centre of a tract which formerly belonged to the Knights, stretching from White-Friars eastward, to Essex-street in the Strand on the west.*

* Maitland's History and Survey of London, p. 967. Jordan cannot dismiss the Knights Templars without a few

TRIAL BY COMBAT.—Among the superstitions which our Saxon ancestors entertained in their native woods in Germany, was the notion, that their gods would always determine, by direct interference, the truth or falsehood of any accusation submitted to their arbitration, by solemn appeal. This fond but natural dictate of the ignorant and unenlightened mind became a leading feature of their criminal jurisprudence, after they had settled in England ; and, accommodating it to the

caustic parting remarks. “ St. Bernard,” says he, “ gives “ a most excellent character to these fighting saints. “ How well they deserved it, the Lord knows. He “ observes, which makes the wonder still greater, that “ these saints had been for the most part debauched, “ impious, perjured, sacrilegious thieves, murderers, for- “ nicators, adulterers, ravishers, who now joined to the “ innocence of the lamb the courage of the lion.”— *Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 223.* “ At this time, in the year 1173, the “ Knights Templars acted the part of freebooters and mur- “ derers. They and the Knights Hospitallers had scarcely “ been established sixty years, before they were corrupted “ to such a degree, that both Christian and Mahometan “ writers, though seldom concurring in the same senti- “ ments, agree in describing them as the vilest of man- “ kind.”—*Ib. 238.*

christian faith, which they had professed, they adopted it as the touchstone of guilt or innocence, in all matters where the deficiency of evidence seemed to preclude the establishment of truth. The name applied to this method of solemn decision was the *ordeal*, or *great judgment*, branching into two descriptions,—that of *fire-ordeal*, and that of *water-ordeal*; the former being confined to persons of higher rank, the latter allowed to the common people. “Both these,” says Judge Blackstone, “might be performed by deputy: “but the principal was to answer for the success of the trial; the deputy only venturing “some corporal pain for hire, or perhaps for “friendship.* Fire-ordeal was performed “either by taking up in the hand, unhurt, a “piece of red-hot iron, of one, two, or three “pounds weight; or else by walking, barefoot “and blindfold, over nine red-hot plough- “shares, laid lengthwise at unequal distances; “and if the party escaped being hurt, he was “adjudged innocent; but if it happened other-

* “This is still expressed in that common form of “speech, ‘of going thro’ fire and water to serve another.’

“ wise, as without collusion it usually did, he
 “ was then condemned as guilty. However,
 “ by this latter method Queen Emma, the
 “ mother of Edward the Confessor, is men-
 “ tioned to have cleared her character, when
 “ suspected of familiarity with Alwyn bishop
 “ of Winchester.*

“ Water-ordeal was performed, either by
 “ plunging the bare arm up to the elbow in
 “ boiling water, and escaping unhurt thereby:
 “ or by casting the person suspected into a
 “ river or pond of cold water; and, if he
 “ floated therein without any action of swim-
 “ ming, it was deemed an evidence of his
 “ guilt ; but if he sunk, he was acquitted. It
 “ is easy to trace out the traditional relics of
 “ this water-ordeal, in the ignorant barbarity
 “ still practised in many countries to discover
 “ witches, by casting them into a pool of water,
 “ and drowning them to prove their innocence.
 “ And in the eastern empire the fire-ordeal
 “ was used to the same purpose by the Em-
 “ peror Theodore Lascaris ; who, attributing
 “ his sickness to magic, caused all those whom

* “ Tho. Rudborne Hist. maj. Winton, l. 4, c. 1.

“ he suspected to handle the hot iron : thus
 “ joining (as had been well remarked*) to the
 “ most dubious crime in the world, the most
 “ dubious proof of innocence.

“ And, indeed, this purgation by ordeal
 “ seems to have been very ancient, and very
 “ universal, in the times of superstitious bar-
 “ barity. It was known to the ancient Greeks:
 “ for in the *Antigone* of Sophocles,† a person
 “ suspected by Creon of a misdemeanour,
 “ declares himself ready ‘ to handle hot iron,
 “ ‘ and to walk over fire,’ in order to manifest
 “ his innocence ; which, the scholiast tells us,
 “ was then a very usual purgation. And Gro-
 “ tius‡ gives us many instances of water-ordeal
 “ in Bithynia, Sardinia, and other places.
 “ There is also a very peculiar species of water-
 “ ordeal, said to prevail among the Indians
 “ on the coast of Malabar ; where a person
 “ accused of any enormous crime is obliged to
 “ swim over a large river abounding with cro-
 “ codiles, and if he escapes unhurt, he is re-
 “ puted innocent. As, in Siam, besides the

* “ Sp. L. b. 12, c. 5. † V. 270.

‡ “ On Numb. v. 17.

“ usual methods of fire and water-ordeal, both
 “ parties are sometimes exposed to the fury
 “ of a tiger let loose for that purpose ; and,
 “ if the beast spares either, that person is
 “ accounted innocent ; if neither, both are
 “ held to be guilty ; but if he spares both, the
 “ trial is incomplete, and they proceed to a
 “ more certain criterion.*

“ One cannot but be astonished at the
 “ folly and impiety of pronouncing a man
 “ guilty, unless he was cleared by a miracle ;
 “ and of expecting that all the powers of
 “ nature should be suspended, by an imme-
 “ diate interposition of Providence to save the
 “ innocent, whenever it was presumptuously
 “ required. And yet in England, so late as
 “ King John’s time, we find grants to the
 “ bishops and clergy to use the *judicium ferri*;
 “ *aquæ, et ignis*.† And, both in England
 “ and Sweden, the clergy presided at this
 “ trial, and it was only performed in the
 “ churches, or in other consecrated ground ;
 “ for which Stiernhook‡ gives the reason,

* “ Med. Univ. Hist. vii. 286.

† “ Spelm. Gloss. 485. ‡ De jure Sueconum, l. i. c. 8.

“ *Non defuit illis operæ et laboris pretium;*
 “ *semper enim ab ejusmodi judicio aliquid*
 “ *lucris sacerdotibus obveniebat.* But, to give
 “ it its due praise, we find the canon law very
 “ early declaring against trial by ordeal, or
 “ *vulgaris purgatio*, as being the fabric of the
 “ devil, *cum sit contra præceptum Domini,*
 “ *non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum.**
 “ Upon this authority, though the canons
 “ themselves were of no validity in England,
 “ it was thought proper (as had been done in
 “ Denmark above a century before†) to disuse
 “ and abolish this trial entirely in our courts of
 “ justice, by an Act of Parliament in 3 Henry
 “ III. according to Sir Edward Coke,‡ or
 “ rather by an order of the King in council.||
 “ 2. Another species of purgation, somewhat
 “ similar to the former, but probably sprung
 “ from a presumptuous abuse of revelation in
 “ the ages of dark superstition, was the *cors-*

* “ Decret. part. 2, caus. 2, qu. 5, dist. 7. Decretal.
 “ lib. 3, tit. 50, c. 9, and Gloss. *ibid.*

† “ Mod. Un. Hist. xxxii. 105. ‡ 9 Rep. 32.

† “ 1 Rym. Foed. 228. Spelm. Gloss. 326. 2 Pryn.
 “ Rec. Append. 20. Seld. Eadm. fol. 48.

“ *ned*, or morsel of execration, being a piece
 “ of cheese or bread, of about an ounce in
 “ weight, which was consecrated with a form
 “ of exorcism ; desiring of the Almighty that
 “ it might cause convulsions and paleness,
 “ and find no passage, if the man was really
 “ guilty ; but might turn to health and nou-
 “ rishment, if he was innocent :* as the water
 “ of jealousy among the Jewst was, by God’s
 “ special appointment, to cause the belly to
 “ swell, and the thigh to rot, if the woman
 “ was guilty of adultery. This corsned was
 “ then given to the suspected person, who at
 “ the same time also received the holy sacra-
 “ ment ;‡ if, indeed, the corsned was not, as
 “ some have suspected, the sacramental bread
 “ itself, till the subsequent invention of tran-
 “ substantiation preserved it from profane
 “ uses with a more profound respect than
 “ formerly. Our historians assure us, that
 “ Godwin earl of Kent, in the reign of
 “ Edward the Confessor, abjuring the death
 “ of the King’s brother, at last appealed to
 “ his corsned, *per buccellam deglutiendam*
 • “ Spelm. Gl. 439. † Numb. ch. v. ‡ LL. Canut. c. 6.

“ *abjuravit*,* which stuck in his throat and
 “ killed him. This custom has been long
 “ since gradually abolished, though the re-
 “ membrance of it still subsists in certain
 “ phrases of abjuration retained among the
 “ common people.”†

The mode of determining guilt or innocence by the ordeal or corsned did not, however, satisfy the fiery spirit of the Norman invaders. The passion for arms had, more or less, mingled in all their institutions, long before their descent on England ; and they disdained any appeal to Heaven, in which the agency of their own right-hand, had not its appropriate share. It was their full belief, indeed, that Heaven would always interpose to rescue truth and right from fraud and oppression. But they also held, that its interposition could only be obtained by the personal conflict of the disputants ; and that its adjudication would be manifested, by the victory which it would afford to the champion of innocence.

* “ Ingulph.

† “ As, ‘ I will take the Sacrament upon it ; may this
 “ ‘ morsel be my last ;’ and the like.”

their modification or alteration of the
 son institutions, therefore, they superseded
 : test of the *ordeal* and *corsned*, by their
 ourite *trial by combat*; which, though not
 irely confined to the barons and knights,
 : more especially resorted to as the *dernier*
ort of the fierce and frequent controversies
 ween themselves; as well as the test of their
 dity to, or treachery against, their liege
 d the King. When the principals in these
 nbat were immediate vassals of the crown,
 : King himself was a spectator of its process
 l issue, with the marshal of the kingdom on
 one hand, and the constable on the other ;
 l equal formalities attended the less dig-
 ed contest of the vassals of a baron, except
 t he himself presided at the ceremony,
 tead of the monarch. Where the accuser
 : victorious, the crime was considered as
 ved, and the culprit (if he survived the
 d) suffered the legal punishment of his
 lt. Did he die within the lists, the same
 sh judgment attached to his name and
 mory. On the contrary, if the accuser fell
 the duel, or submitted to his adversary,

the odium of a false accusation rested upon him, and he was referred to the King's wrath or mercy for punishment or pardon.* Were the question of a civil nature, the success of the accuser or his opponent either gained or lost the cause. Inequitable and absurd, however, as this proof of criminality or its contrary might be, the injustice of it was in some degree lessened by a principle recognized in the feudal system, for the protection of those, who, from age, imbecility, or sex, were incompetent to

* Mr. Strutt, in his *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, (p. 115.) gives an engraving from an illuminated manuscript of the time of Richard II. representing the trial by combat between an English esquire, called John Welsh, and an esquire of Navarre, to determine the guilt or innocence of Welsh, whom the Navarre esquire had charged with treason. The combat was fought before the King, at his palace in Westminster. The skill or prowess of the Englishman prevailed: he was, consequently, acquitted of the charge of treason, and the unfortunate Frenchman, having been divested of his armour, was drawn to Tyburn, and hung for the false assertion which he had made. The persons depicted in this engraving are, the King in his robes, with his crown and sceptre, elevated on a throne: the Earl Marshal, and High Constable, to the right and left of the monarch; and the two Esquires within the lists, in front of his Majesty. They are in complete cap-a-pee armour, both on foot; and are armed with daggers only.

urge, in their own persons, their claims of right, or their defence under accusation. Women, and priests, and old men, and young people under twenty years of age, and blind, and maimed, and infirm persons, were all considered as exempt from the necessity of engaging personally within the lists ; and indulged with the permission of naming a champion, who on their behalf should vindicate their fame, or assert their right ; the same consequences applying to them according to the fate of their proxy, as would have resulted had they themselves been engaged in the combat. Dr. Henry has given the two following instances of trial by wager of battle ; one in a *criminal* cause ; the other in a civil one :

“ Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England, fled from a battle in Wales, A. D. 1158, threw from him the royal standard, and cried out, with others, that the King was slain. Some time after he was accused of having done this with a treasonable intention, by Robert de Montfort, another great baron, who offered to prove the truth of his accusation by combat. Henry

“ de Essex denied the charge, and accepted
 “ the challenge. When all preliminaries
 “ were adjusted, this combat was accordingly
 “ fought in the presence of Henry II. and all
 “ his court. Essex was defeated, and expected
 “ to be carried out to immediate execution.
 “ But the King, who was no friend to this
 “ kind of trial, spared his life, and contented
 “ himself with confiscating his estate, and mak-
 “ ing him a monk in the abbey of Reading.

“ The priory of Tinmouth, in Northum-
 “ berland, was a cell of the abbey of St.
 “ Alban’s. One Simon of Tinmouth claimed
 “ a right to two corodies, or the maintenance
 “ of two persons in the priory ; which the
 “ prior and monks denied. This cause was
 “ brought before the Abbot of St. Alban’s, and
 “ his court-baron, who appointed it to be
 “ tried by combat on a certain day before him
 “ and his barons. Ralf Gubion, prior of Tin-
 “ mouth, appeared at the time and place
 “ appointed, attended by his champion, one
 “ William Pegun, a man of gigantic stature.
 “ The combat was fought, Pegun was defeated,
 “ and the prior lost his cause ; at which he was

“ so much chagrined, that he immediately
 “ resigned his office. This judicial combat is
 “ the more remarkable, that it was fought in
 “ the court of a spiritual baron, and that one
 “ of the parties was a priest.”

The presumption and unreasonableness of such a test of innocence or crime, as the trial by combat, are too obvious to require exposition ; nor could we suppose, that the allowance of a process of this nature would be sanctioned by the legal ordinances of any of the nations of Europe, in times of such high civilization and general good sense as the present ; but it is a curious fact, that an anomaly of this description does actually exist in our own code of judicial regulations ; and that trial by combat, under the more modern name of *Wager of Battle*, is still acknowledged by the common law of England, as the *ultima ratio* in two questions, the one of a criminal, the other of a civil, nature ; and that an appeal in the former case was actually made within the last four years in the case of Ashton against Thornton, for the murder of the appellant's sister ; and a writ of right

near Sutton Colfreys in

(recognizing the forms of this trial in civil cases) was resorted to, in the courts of Westminster within the last twenty or thirty years. The following account is given by Judge Blackstone of a process of the latter description in the sixteenth century :

“ The last trial by battel that was waged in
 “ the court of common pleas at Westminster
 “ (though there was afterwards one in the
 “ court of chivalry in 1631; and another in the
 “ county palatine of Durham in 1638) was in
 “ the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth,
 “ A.D. 1571, as reported by Sir James Dyer;
 “ and was held in Tothill-fields, Westminster,
 “ *non sine magna juris consultorum pertur-*
 “ *batione*, saith Sir Henry Spelman, who was
 “ himself a witness of the ceremony. The
 “ form, as appears from the authors before
 “ cited, is as follows:

“ When the tenant in a writ of right pleads
 “ the general issue, viz. that he hath more
 “ right to hold, that the demandant hath to
 “ recover; and offers to prove it by the body of
 “ his champion, which tender is accepted by
 “ the demandant; the tenant in the first

“ place must produce his champion, who, by
 “ throwing down his glove as a gage or
 “ pledge, thus *wages* or stipulates battel
 “ with the champion of the demandant;
 “ who, by taking up the gage or glove, stipu-
 “ lates on his part to accept the challenge.
 “ The reason why it is waged by champions,
 “ and not by the parties themselves, in civil
 “ actions, is because, if any party to the suit
 “ dies, the suit must abate and be at an end
 “ for the present; and therefore no judgment
 “ could be given for the lands in question, if
 “ either of the parties were slain in battel:
 “ and also that no person might claim an
 “ exemption from this trial, as was allowed
 “ in criminal cases, where the battel was
 “ waged in person.

“ A piece of ground is then in due time
 “ set out, of sixty feet square, enclosed with
 “ lists, and on one side a court erected for
 “ the judges of the court of common pleas,
 “ who attend there in their scarlet robes; and
 “ also a bar is prepared for the learned ser-
 “ jeants at law. When the court sits, which
 “ ought to be by sunrising, proclamation is

“ made for the parties, and their champions;
 “ who are introduced by two knights, and
 “ are dressed in a coat of armour, with red
 “ sandals, barelegged from the knee down-
 “ wards, bareheaded, and with bare arms to
 “ the elbows. The weapons allowed them
 “ are only batons, or staves of an ell long,
 “ and a four-cornered leather target; so that
 “ death very seldom ensued this civil com-
 “ bat. In the court military, indeed, they
 “ fought with sword and lance, according to
 “ Spelman and Rushworth; as likewise in
 “ France only villeins fought with the buckler
 “ and baton, gentlemen armed at all points.
 “ And upon this and other circumstances,
 “ the president Montesquieu hath with great
 “ ingenuity not only deduced the impious
 “ custom of private duels upon imaginary
 “ points of honour, but has also traced the
 “ heroic madness of knight-errantry, from
 “ the same original of judicial combats. But
 “ to proceed.

“ When the champions, thus armed with
 “ batons, arrive within the lists or place of
 “ combat, the champion of the tenant then

“ takes his adversary by the hand, and makes
 “ oath that the tenements in dispute are not
 “ the right of the demandant; and the cham-
 “ pion of the demandant, then taking the
 “ other by the hand, swears in the same
 “ manner that they are; so that each cham-
 “ pion is, or ought to be, thoroughly per-
 “ suaded of the truth of the cause he fights
 “ for. Next an oath against sorcery and
 “ enchantment is to be taken by both the
 “ champions, in this or a similar form :
 “ ‘ Hear this, ye justices, that I have this
 “ ‘ day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me,
 “ ‘ neither bone, stone, ne grass; nor any en-
 “ ‘ chantment, sorcery, or witchcraft, whereby
 “ ‘ the law of God may be abased, or the law
 “ ‘ of the devil exalted. So help me God
 “ ‘ and his saints.’

“ The battel is thus begun, and the com-
 “ batants are bound to fight till the stars
 “ appear in the evening : and if the cham-
 “ pion of the tenant can defend himself till
 “ the stars appear, the tenant shall prevail in
 “ his cause; for it is sufficient for him to
 “ maintain his ground, and make it a drawn

“ battle, he being already in possession ; but
 “ if victory declares itself for either party,
 “ for him is judgment finally given. ‘ This
 “ victory may arise from the death of either
 “ of the champions, which indeed hath rarely
 “ happened ; the whole ceremony, to say the
 “ truth, bearing a nearer resemblance to cer-
 “ tain rural athletic diversions, which are pro-
 “ bably derived from this original. Or vic-
 “ tory is obtained, if either champion proves
 “ *recreant*, that is, yields, and pronounces the
 “ horrible word of *craven* ; a word of dis-
 “ grace and obloquy, rather than of any deter-
 “ minate meaning. But a horrible word it
 “ indeed is to the vanquished champion ;
 “ since as a punishment to him for forfeiting
 “ the land of his principal by pronouncing
 “ that shameful word, he is condemned as
 “ a recreant, *amittere liberam legem*, that
 “ is, to become infamous, and not be ac-
 “ counted *liber et legalis homo* ; being sup-
 “ posed by the event to be proved forsworn,
 “ and therefore never to be put upon a jury,
 “ or admitted as a witness in any cause.
 “ This is the form of a trial by battel ; a trial
 “ which the tenant or defendant in a writ of

“ right, has it in his election at this day
 “ to demand ; and which was the only deci-
 “ sion of such writ of right after the con-
 “ quest, till Henry the Second by consent
 “ of Parliament introduced the grand *assise*,
 “ a peculiar species of trial by jury, in concur-
 “ rence therewith ; giving the tenant his choice
 “ either of one or the other. Which example,
 “ of discountenancing these judicial combats,
 “ was imitated about a century afterwards in
 “ France, by an edict of Louis the Pious,
 “ A. D. 1260, and soon after by the rest of
 “ Europe. The establishment of this alter-
 “ native, Glanvil, chief justice to Henry the
 “ Second, and probably his adviser herein,
 “ considers as a most noble improvement, as
 “ in fact it was, of the law.”

The form and manner of waging battle
 upon appeals of *murder* are much the same
 as upon a *writ of right* ; only the oaths of
 the two combatants are far more striking and
 solemn. “ The appellee, when appealed of
 “ felony, pleads *not guilty*, and throws down
 “ his glove, and declares he will defend the
 “ same by his body : the appellant takes up

" the glove, and replies that he is ready to
 " make good the appeal, body for body.
 " And thereupon the appellee, taking the
 " book in his right hand, and in his left the
 " right hand of his antagonist, swears to this
 " effect : ' *Hoc audi, homo, quem per ma-*
 " *num teneo, &c.* hear this, O man, whom
 " ' I hold by the hand, who callest thyself
 " ' John by the name of baptism, that I, who
 " ' call myself Thomas by the name of bap-
 " ' tism, did not feloniously murder thy fa-
 " ' ther, William by name, nor am any way
 " ' guilty of the said felony. So help me
 " ' God and the saints ; and this I will de-
 " ' fend against thee with my body, as this
 " ' court shall award.' To which the appel-
 " lant replies, holding the bible and his anta-
 " gonist's hand in the same manner as the
 " other : " hear this, O man, whom I hold
 " ' by the hand, who callest thyself Thomas
 " ' by the name of baptism, that thou art
 " ' perjured, and therefore perjured, because
 " ' that thou feloniously didst murder my
 " ' father, William by name. So help me
 " ' God and the saints ; and this I will

“ ‘ prove against thee by my body, as this
 “ ‘ court shall award.’ The battle is then
 “ to be fought with the same weapons,
 “ viz. batons, the same solemnity, and the
 “ same oath against amulets and sorcery, that
 “ are used in the civil combat : and if the
 “ appellee be so far vanquished, that he can-
 “ not or will not fight any longer, he shall be
 “ adjudged to be hanged immediately ; and
 “ then, as well as if he be killed in battle,
 “ providence is deemed to have determined in
 “ favour of the truth, and his blood shall be
 “ attainted. But if he kills the appellant, or
 “ can maintain the fight from sunrising till
 “ the stars appear in the evening, he shall be
 “ acquitted. So also if the appellant becomes
 “ recreant, and pronounces the horrible word
 “ of *craven*, he shall lose his *liberam legem*,
 “ and become infamous ; and the appellee
 “ shall recover his damages, and also be for-
 “ ever quit, not only of the appeal, but of
 “ all indictments, likewise, for the same
 “ offence.”

HUNTING, FOREST LAW, ARCHERY.—

The sports of the field (if the passion be not an inherent principle in our nature*) have their origin in human wants. In the first stage of society man is a hunter from necessity. The earth will not supply him with food spontaneously; with the resources of pasturage he is as yet unacquainted; and the processes of husbandry lie still further without the limits of his apprehension. The wild tenants of the woods and the plains must furnish his meals; and the first efforts of his ingenuity are directed to invent and apply devices for their capture or destruction. But the practice does not cease with the

* An ingenious, but somewhat paradoxical, writer considers an *appetite for hunting* in this point of view. He conceives that the call of hunger alone would be insufficient to engage men to bear with cheerfulness the toil of this exercise, and the uncertainty of capture. "Savages," says he, "who act by sense, not by foresight, move not "when the stomach is full; and it would be too late, when "the stomach is empty, to form a hunting party."—*Lord Kaime's Sketches of Man*, i. 86. His Lordship's reasoning has this recommendation,—that it tends to establish another illustrious instance of God's wise and benevolent adaptation of man's internal constitution to his external circumstances.

redress of the want : what was in the first instance a matter of obligation, becomes afterwards a source of pleasure. The strength and agility which rural sports call into action ; the hilarity which they inspire ; and even the danger which they involve, added to the interest arising from the anticipation of success ; continue to give popularity to pursuits, which had their origin in compulsion : and it is not until a nation has attained to a high degree of refinement, and assumed what may be called an intellectual character, that such avocations lose their charms with the higher classes of society. We shall find that a process of this kind has taken place in our own country, with reference to the exercises in question. The ancient Britons, who (as Cæsar tells us*) came originally from Gaul, if they did not import with them a propensity for pursuits which they had already been compelled to adopt in their own native woods, found it necessary to have recourse to them in the wildernesses of Britain, where they settled. Driven, in after times, by the more

* Cæs. Com. lib. v. Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 2.

civilized Belgæ, into the unproductive mountains, marshes, and fastnesses, of the interior country, the habits of the hunter state could not be relaxed. The chace had still an imperative call upon them, till use at length rendered it delightful; and before the conclusion of the first century of the christian æra, a passion for hunting formed one of the most prominent features of the Celtic-British character; the chief amusement of life, and a branch of that enjoyment which was to constitute the happiness of a future state.*

Mr. M'Pherson has given us either an agreeable imaginary sketch, or a pleasing picture of a Celtic hunting-match.

“ Morning trembles with the beam of the
 “ east; it glitters on Cromla's side. Over
 “ Lena has heard the horn of Swaran; the
 “ sons of Ocean gather around. Silent and

* If we may believe that the *Poems of Ossian* describe with any fidelity the manners and opinions of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, we have authority for what is said above. From these we learn the notion of the Celtic warriors was, that after death they should “ pursue deer
 “ formed of clouds, and bend their airy bows;” that they should “ still love the sport of their youth, and mount the
 “ wind with joy.”—*Ossian's Poems*, vol. i. p. 226.

“ sad they rise on the wave. The blast of
 “ *Erin* is behind their sails. White as the
 “ mist of Morven they float along the sea. Call,
 “ said Fingal, call my dogs, the long-bounding
 “ sons of the chace ; call white-breasted Bran,
 “ and the surly strength of Luath. Fillan
 “ and Ryno—but he is not here ! My son
 “ rests on the bed of death ! Fillan and
 “ Fergus ! blow the horn, that the joy of the
 “ chace may arise ! that the deer of Cromla
 “ may hear, and start at the hill of roes !

“ The shrill sound spreads along the woods.
 “ The sons of heathy Cromla arise. A thou-
 “ sand dogs fly off at once, grey, bounding
 “ through the heath. A deer fell by every
 “ dog ; three by white-breasted Bran. He
 “ brought them in their flight to Fingal, that
 “ the joy of the king might be great.”*

* Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 327. White-breasted Bran makes a conspicuous and very interesting figure in this non-descript work. It is not improbable that the author of *Ivanhoe* should have caught the idea of the fidelity and vigilance of poor *Fangs* from the following beautiful picture of Bran's faithful attachment to his master, the youthful Fillan, who had been slain in battle, and his body placed in a cave, near the mouth of which flowed a rivulet. “ One tree was bent above the stream, which glittered over

War and hunting were passions with the Saxons. When they had gained a complete settlement in England, by their successful efforts in the one ; they turned their attention to the amusement which bore the nearest resemblance to warfare, and indulged their ardour for the

“ the rock. There shone to the moon the broken shield
“ of Clatho’s son ; and near it, on the grass, lay the hairy-
“ footed Bran. He had missed the chief on Mora, and
“ searched him along the wind. He thought that the
“ blue-eyed hunter slept. He lay upon the shield. No
“ blast came over the heath, unknown to bounding Bran.”

Vol. ii. p. 131. The excellence of the British dogs, more especially for the purposes of hunting, was acknowledged from the most remote times. After the reduction of our island by the Romans, they became an article of exportation to Italy ; and a Roman officer was appointed to reside at Winchester for the express purpose of collecting and breeding these useful animals, to furnish the amphitheatre and Imperial kennel at Rome. *Strabo, l. iv. p. 199.* Their character has not degenerated ; for Dr. Campbell remarks, that all the neighbouring countries do justice to our dogs ; adopt our terms and names into their own language ; receive them thankfully as presents ; and when they have an opportunity, purchase them at a dear rate. *Polit. Survey, vol. ii. p. 205, (Note, &c.)* The value of the British dogs was justly estimated by their masters ; who protected their property by a singular law, which, doubtless, would be sufficiently efficacious in an age when *personal degradation* was regarded with abhorrence. *Si quis canem veltrem, &c. presumpserit inviolare, jubemus ut convictus, coram omni populo, posteriora ipsius osculetur.* *Pellatier Hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 12. p. 462.*

chace. A perfect knowledge of the theory, and excellence in the practice, of the sports of the field, were deemed by them essentials in the education and accomplishments of all the higher classes of the community; a branch of breeding which our illustrious Alfred had acquired, before he was taught to read his vernacular tongue.*

Mr. Strutt, in his *Glig Gamena Angel Theod*, (plate 1,) has given a delineation from an ancient Anglo-Saxon manuscript, representing a hunting expedition by a thane and his serf, which throws some light on the *manner* in which our Saxon ancestors pursued their sport, and the *game* which was the object of it. The parties are both *on foot*, bare-headed, and armed as follows. The thane *in his right hand carries a spear, apparently eight or nine feet in length, having at its extremity a long, flat, lozenge-shaped head. A large sword is girded to his left side, which he grasps with his left hand. Over the same shoulder is thrown a loose cloak, used,

* *Asserus de Ælf. Reb. Gestis. Cam. Norm. Scrip.* p. 5, l. 20; *Spel. Vit. Ælf.* l. iii. c. 65.

probably, either to rouse the rage of the boar, (which is the object of his sport,) or to baffle his attacks. The serf follows behind, sounding an horn, which is suspended by a loose strap over the right shoulder, and held to his mouth with the left hand. In the other hand he has a spear, like the one before described. He is followed by two dogs coupled together, seemingly of the greyhound species: they are pursuing a herd of wild boars.*

From this and many other representations of the same description, still preserved, it is evident that the hunting of our forefathers was of a far more manly cast than that of modern times. The wolf, the boar, and the wild bull, were the dangerous objects of their chase; the horse was not called in to speed their course, or aid their flight: the exercise was “an image of war,” which gave vigour to the frame, and strength to the constitution; and nourished that martial ardour, and fearless intrepidity, which, when exerted in the field of battle,

* Vol. i. Plate 12. The same indefatigable antiquary has published several other delineations on the same subject, and from similar sources, in his *Horda Angel Cynan*, as well as in his *Glig Gamena*, &c.

generally carried off the palm of victory. Strongly attached as the higher orders of the Anglo-Saxons were to these diversions, we cannot but respect the philosophical calmness which Edward the Confessor (a dear lover of the chace) evinced, when his sport was once most provokingly spoiled, by the ignorance or insolence of a country clown. The monarch having been one day successfully engaged in the chace, his attendants had driven a large herd of stags into several narrow alleys, prepared for the purpose, where, by means of nets, the deer were inclosed. Here the best of them were to be destroyed by the royal hunter, and the remainder to be restored to liberty. Previously, however, to this selection, a countryman, coming by the place, broke down the inclosure, and permitted all the game to escape. The King was sorely hurt by his disappointment, and the terrified rustic expected an immediate punishment of his delinquency. Edward, however, dismissed the man and his fears with this exclamation, "By G— and his mother I would punish thee severely, if *I could trust myself to do*

"it :"^{*} an example of forbearance which we may venture to assert, it would be difficult to parallel in the annals of modern hunting.

The Norman conquerors of England inherited from their forefathers an intense devotion to the sports of the field;† and an extension of the forest laws, a multiplication of penalties upon the violation of them, and an additional severity in the character of these inflictions, were, perhaps, the most irritating, if not the most oppressive, alterations in the ancient legal ordinances of England, introduced by the successful invader of our country. The monkish writers would willingly add to the odium, which such tyrannical proceedings very properly excites against their author, a still larger portion of indignation, by charging him with the cruel act of laying waste a large district of land, with its villages and churches, in order to afford a wider field for the enjoy-

* Will. Malm. de Gest. Reg. Ang. Saville, c. 13, fol. 43, c. i. l. 30. This author says, that Edward loved to follow a pack of swift hounds in pursuit of game, and to cheer them with his voice.

† The Saxon Chronicler tells us, that William loved the large species of wild beasts as much as if he had been their father.

ment of the chase ;* but these historians wrote under the influence of irritation,

* *Lambarde* has condensed the monkish accounts of William's afforestation in these words. " A large portion of Hampshire, which, after the opinion of the most " and best approved historians, William the Conqueror " layed to forest, destroyinge townes, villages, and churches, " thirty miles longe." Dict. in Verb. New Forest. Their accounts of this transaction will be found in the following references to their respective works. *Gulielmus Gemeticensis*, apud Cam. Scrip. p. 674. l. 10. c. 9. He considers the death of two of William's sons in the New Forest, as a retribution for his devastation of this district. *Gulielmus* was chaplain to the Conqueror, and died 1135. Cam. Præf. *Florence Wigorn* gives an exaggerated statement of the business, and adds the general belief of the visitation on William's children being the consequence of the wicked act. P. 469. He died in the reign of Henry I. *Walter Mapes* is more particular, by fixing the number of mother churches destroyed at thirty-six. Apud Cam. Brit. in Hant. *Walter* flourished in the reign of Henry I. *Simeon Dunelmensis* transcribes verbatim the account of this afforestation from *Florence* of Worcester. Apud *Twisden* Scrip. vol. i. p. 225. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. *Selden's* Preface. *William of Malmesbury*, (in general an enlightened and impartial writer,) adopting in this instance the quarrel and prejudices of his brother ecclesiastics, accuses William of the same act of ruthless tyranny. Lib. ii. Fol. 62. (6). He lived in the reigns of Henry I. Stephen, and Henry II. *Henry of Huntingdon* repeats the story. Saville Scrip. fol. 212. (b). He was contemporary with the last writer. *Walter Hemmingford* (in the time of Henry III.) agrees in his statement with the last writer. P. 480, edit. Gale. *Brompton*

and, certainly, in this instance, have done injustice to William's memory. On comparing their accounts together, we shall find them extravagant and inconsistent: and in surveying the spot which they point to as the scene of his desolations, we immediately perceive, that it is impossible the New Forest should ever have been in the flourishing state which they attribute to it, previously to its being thrown into a receptacle for game. Its present appearance demonstrates what it was in

adds to a similar account much envenomed abuse of the Conqueror and his countrymen. Decem. Scrip. P. 981, l. 25. Chron. John Brompton, and 996, l. 16. He wrote his annals temp. Edward III. *Henry Knyghton* mentions the formation of New Forest twice, ascribing it first to William the Conqueror, and afterwards to Rufus. *De Event. Angliæ, Twisdeni*, Decem. Scrip. tom. ii. p. 2364, and 2373. This writer wrote temp. Rich. II. *Thomas Rudborne*, a writer of the fifteenth century, gives a like account of the Conqueror's cruelty. *Major Hist. Winton Anglia. Sac. v. i. 258.* *Rosse of Warwick*, follows in the same track, suggesting, however, that it arose from policy; that the Conqueror might have an opportunity of spending a large portion of time on the southern coast, in case any disturbances in Normandy should require his prompt appearance there. *Ross. War. p. 113.* He died at the close of the fifteenth century. *Ordericus Vitalis*, an early Norman writer, asserts that William destroyed sixty parish churches in the formation of New Forest.

the eleventh century, in some spots a woody, and in others a sterile, district; with few inhabitants, and those of the lowest cast; presenting here and there some little marks of cultivation, and of course but sparingly supplied with places of worship for its scattered population. The fair inference, therefore, is, that William, finding a tract so well adapted for the purposes of hunting, (his favourite amusement,) exercised a *royal right* which had been recognized even by the previous existing laws of England,* and threw the whole of it into forest, certainly with some violation of humanity, and offence against religion, but much within those bounds of either ascribed to him by the monkish writers.

How unmerited soever this charge against William may be, to the extent to which it has been carried, it has, notwithstanding, been generally considered as an approved point of history for centuries past; adopted by most of our historical writers as a fact, and referred to as such by many of our poets.

* See Canute's *Constitutiones de Foresta*: and Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, v. ii. p. 313.

Pope, in his Windsor Forest, has bestowed many lines upon it ; which would have been good, had the imagery been correct : but, when he talks of “ levelled towns ;” “ naked temples ;” “ broken columns ;” “ gaping tombs ;” and “ sacred quires ;” we regret that he had not avoided the incongruity, by allowing his good sense to dictate to him how impossible it was, that a wild district in the south-western part of Hampshire should have afforded such glittering materials to the muse, at the close of the eleventh century :

“ Proud Nimrod first the bloody chase began,
 “ A mighty hunter, and his prey was man.
 “ Our haughty Norman boasts that barb’rous name,
 “ And makes his trembling slaves the royal game.
 “ The fields are ravish’d from the industrious swains,
 “ From men their cities, and from Gods their fanes :
 “ The levell’d towns with weeds lie scatter’d o’er,
 “ The hollow winds through naked temples roar :
 “ Round broken columns clasping ivy twines ;
 “ O’er heaps of ruin stalk the stately hinds ;
 “ The fox obscene to gaping tombs retires ;
 “ And savage howlings fill the sacred quires.”

The elegant critic, indeed, on the genius and writings of Pope, has pronounced, that the above lines are “ well imagined :” * but we

cannot, in this solitary instance, yield to his authority; though we feel obliged to him for the ingenious observations with which he accompanies the passage.

“ Voltaire, (says he,) in the first volume of
 “ his entertaining and lively essay on general
 “ history, is inclined to dispute the truth of
 “ this devastation, imputed to William the
 “ Conqueror, but for a reason not very solid
 “ or conclusive. His objection consists in
 “ the improbability that any man in his
 “ senses should think of depopulating a cir-
 “ cuit of fifteen leagues, and of sowing and
 “ planting a forest therein, when he was
 “ now sixty-three years old, and could
 “ not reasonably hope to live long enough
 “ to have the pleasure of hunting in it
 “ after these trees were grown up. As if it
 “ were necessary to have only woods to hunt
 “ in ; or that a forest should be laid out (as are
 “ some in France) in regular alleys, and ave-
 “ nues of trees. All our old historians
 “ join in charging William with this wanton
 “ act of cruelty and oppression. And yet

* Warton's Essay, vol. i. 20.

“ those who have most accurately examined
 “ the New Forest, can discover no mark or
 “ footstep of any other place of habitation,
 “ parish, or church, or castle, than what at
 “ present remains. There is indeed some
 “ probability that the character of this prince
 “ has been misrepresented, and his oppressions
 “ magnified. The law of the *curfew bell*,
 “ by which every inhabitant of England was
 “ obliged to extinguish his fire and candles at
 “ eight in the evening, has been usually
 “ alleged as the institution of a capricious
 “ tyrant; but this law, as Voltaire rightly
 “ observes, was so far from being absurdly
 “ tyrannical, that it was an ancient custom
 “ established among all the monasteries of the
 “ north. Their houses were built of wood;
 “ and so cautious a method to prevent fire
 “ was an object worthy a prudent legislator.
 “ A more amiable idea than Pope has here
 “ exhibited of the Conqueror is given us of the
 “ same prince, by that diligent enquirer into
 “ antiquity, the President Henault, in a pas-
 “ sage that contains some curious particulars
 “ characteristical of the manners of that age.

“ ‘ This monarch protected letters at a time
 “ ‘ when books were so rare and uncommon,
 “ ‘ that a Countess of Anjou gave for a col-
 “ ‘ lection of homilies two hundred sheep, a
 “ ‘ measure of wheat, another of rye, and a
 “ ‘ certain number of the skins of martens.’ ”

But though justice demands that William's memory should be relieved from a great portion of the odium which has been heaped upon it by the monkish historians, yet even candour must admit, that he deserves much censure for the ferocious aspect which he imparted to the *Forest Law* of the conquered land.

That the Anglo-Saxon institutions were remarkable for their mildness, and we may add good sense, is obvious, from the tenor of the codes of Ina, Alfred, Edward, Edgar, Athelstan, and Ethelred ;* the spirit of our common law, and the nature of many existing local customs, which had their origin with that people. Of this amiable complexion was their forest law; and, with the distinction of the free and the servile, and the exception of the demesnes of the king, all

* See Lambarde's *Archæionomia*, *passim*, Cantab. 1644.

orders of subjects were allowed to sport, and all places were open to the chace, throughout the kingdom. When, however, the sceptre was seized by the Danes, forest-law spoke a harsher language. Hunting, indeed, was not prohibited to the freeman; but he was to enjoy it under rigid restrictions, both with respect to the kinds of the game,* and the places of recreation. The *royal game* was interdicted to all save the monarch; the royal forests were prohibited spots; and a regular system of law for the protection of both was now, probably for the first time, established.

By the *Charta de Foresta* of Canute, *pæ-ganed*, or magistrates, were appointed in every province in England, authorised to take cognizance of all offences committed in the royal forests, and to punish the offender. Subordinate to these were the sixteen *regarders*, whose duty it was to preserve the vert and venison; while, to apprehend trespassers, and to prevent nocturnal depredations, two and thirty *tinemen*, or keepers, traversed the

* *Constitut. de Foresta Canuti regis.* Manwood's *Forest Law*, Appendix.

sacred district night and day.* After the mention of these appointments, the institutions proceed to the punishment of forest trespassers.

“ If,” says the 20th section, “ any delinquent be taken in our forest, let him be punished according to the nature of his offence.

“ 22d. If any *gentleman* (for, as Gibbon says, we must now adopt a modern idiom) shall drive a wild beast of the forest, either by accident or design, so that the animal be wind-blown, he shall forfeit ten shillings to the king; if he be a countryman, he shall be fined double that sum; if he be a slave, he shall be severely striped.†

* The magistrates, or *pæganed*, were allowed each, every year, two horses, one with a saddle, another without one, a sword, five lances, one helmet, and two hundred shillings. The other officers were rewarded in proportion to their situations. Their immunities and privileges were great: they were exempted from paying tributes and taxes, and attending all civil courts. Besides, if any one were appointed a *tineman*, or keeper, being a slave at the time of his appointment, the office, as soon as he entered on it, rendered him free.

† The expression is *careat corio*; which may, perhaps, mean, that he should be beaten till “ the skin were peeled off.”

“ 24th. But if any gentleman shall wind-
 “ blow the royal beast, called the stag, he shall
 “ lose his liberty for a twelvemonth; a coun-
 “ tryman, for the same crime, shall be confined
 “ two years; and a slave shall be outlawed.

“ 25th. If the stag be killed, the gentleman
 “ shall lose his shield of freedom, the coun-
 “ tryman his liberty, and the slave his life.

“ 26th. Bishops, and abbots, and barons,
 “ shall not be sued on account of venison, if
 “ they refrain from destroying royal beasts.

“ 34th. If a mad dog shall bite a wild beast,
 “ then its owner must pay a sum of money
 “ equal to the weregild (or pecuniary com-
 “ pensation) of a gentleman, which is two
 “ thousand shillings. If it be a royal beast
 “ so bitten, the owner shall be liable to capital
 “ punishment.”*

In addition to these severe means of pre-
 serving the royal game, it appears that the
 cruel measure was then first adopted of *expe-*
ditating all dogs kept within ten miles of a
 forest; that is, of cutting out the ball of the
 fore-foot of these unfortunate animals, in

* Manwood's Forest Law.

order to render them incapable of pursuing the prohibited prey.*

Harsh and unjust, however, as these forest institutions of Canute might be, the additions made to them by William the Conqueror were stained with a deeper die of cruelty. Had he merely rescinded (which he did) the privileges and exemptions granted by the Dane to bishops, abbots, and barons, as far as regarded hunting, he could only have been accused of a selfish monopoly; but, not content with this stretch of authority, he decreed that every one who should take a stag or a boar, should be deprived of his eyes; and for the preservation of his game, he mutilated, and plundered, and imprisoned, and slew, every unfortunate offender, without distinction, who trespassed

* *Expeditare*, in the laws of the forest, signifies to cut out the ball of dogs' fore-feet. But the ball of the foot of a mastiff is not to be cut out; but the three claws of the fore-foot, on the right side, are to be cut off by the skin. *Crompt. Jurisd.* 152; *Manwood, cap.* 16. This relates to every man's dog who lives near the forest; and was formerly done once in every three years: and if any person keeps a great dog not expeditated, he forfeits to the King 3s. 4d.—*Institut. iv.* 308; *Jacob's Law Dict. in Verb.*

upon a spot which he chose to confine exclusively to his own enjoyment.*

The brutal Rufus exceeded the unfeeling severity of his father, with respect to inflictions on the breach of forest law. Whenever he wished either to satiate his revenge, or gratify his avarice, this was the dreadful engine to which he resorted for the purpose; and history records the fact (among many others of a similar description) of fifty opulent and respectable men, undergoing, at one time, the test of the fiery ordeal, to clear themselves from an accusation of their having destroyed the royal game.†

It would be no small drawback upon the justice and sagacity of Henry I. were not

* Matthew of Westminster, p. 9; Sax. Chron. p. 191; Anglia Sac. vol. i. p. 258; Knyghton, p. 2354, l. 18.

† Eadmerus Hist. Nov. p. 48. It was upon this occasion that Rufus gave proof, either of a sagacity, or a freedom from the gross superstition of his day, which is creditable to him. The culprits, either by some ingenious contrivance of their own, or by the collusion of the judge, escaped unhurt from the purgation. On report of the event being made to the King, he exclaimed with indignation, "Quid est id? Deus est justus iudex: pereat quis deinceps crediderit." See also, for Rufus's barbarity and exactions, Knyghton Dec. Scrip. Twisdeni, l. ii. c. 7.

some allowance made for the inordinate passion for the chase which characterised the Anglo-Norman kings, that he augmented the severity of forest law, by making the destruction of a stag an equal crime with the murder of a man ; and by enforcing the expeditation of dogs through the whole kingdom, with the utmost rigour.* A relaxation in the severity of these ordinances was afforded to the subject by Henry II. who seems to have been contented with the imprisonment, or temporary banishment, of those who transgressed them : but Richard the First restored them in all their horrors. In the year 1198, an iter or circuit was made through the kingdom, by the chief justice in Eyre, and two other magistrates, to take cognizance of offences committed in the forests. This was the dreadful language of their declarations. “ The
 “ King declares, that if any one forfeit to
 “ him concerning his venison, or his forests
 “ in any thing, he is not to trust to this,
 “ that he shall only be punished in his goods,
 “ as hitherto. For if, after this time, any one

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. ii. p. 823.

“ forfeit and be convicted, he shall have full
 “ justice done upon him, as it was in King
 “ Henry our grandfather’s time.” And again,
 “ It is to be noted, that he which takes venison
 “ in the King’s forest, and shall be thereof
 “ attainted, shall be in the king’s mercy as to
 “ the losing of his eyes and virility.”* But the
 climax of tyranny had not yet arrived; for
 the exactions and persecutions of the forest
 officers under King John exceeded all prece-
 dent. Punishments of the most atrocious
 description were inflicted without form of trial.
 By one stroke of arbitrary power, all the dogs
 near every forest throughout England were
 destroyed; and a general prohibition was
 issued against any subject hunting or disturbing
 that game which was to be preserved for the

* Brady’s Hist. Eng. v. i. Append. p. 100. About
 this time the Norman barons seem to have assumed, or
 been permitted the exercise of, forest law on their own
 demesnes. In a grant from Robert de Gaunt to the
 canons of Bridlington in Yorkshire, a permission is granted
 to these ecclesiastics to keep four dogs with unmutilated
 feet, as a protection of their sheep-folds; to be tied up
 by day, and loosed by night; with a clause, however, that
 if they were found at large between dawn and evening,
 their keepers should be deemed offenders, and the dogs be
in the King’s mercy. *Mon. Ang. tom. ii. p. 165, a. 50.*

exclusive use and diversion of royalty. The grievance, in short, became intolerable ; and the abolition of the forest laws, or rather their regulation, was made one of the concessions of the abject monarch to his irritated and ascendant barons.

From this period the forest law assumed a much milder aspect than heretofore ; and as civilization has increased, its sanctions have gradually been less arbitrary, and less rigidly enforced. But even modified, and almost dormant, as it is in the present day, it is still a disgrace to our criminal code. The great disproportion of the offence to the punishment, stamps it with the character of unreasonableness, injustice, and oppression. It originated in an age of darkness, when the doctrine of equal rights was unknown ; and should have been buried in the same grave with all its other inequitable and partial institutions. When it existed under its most terrific form, it was ineffectual to the attainment of its object. Perhaps, indeed, it may be considered as having rather encouraged than suppressed forest depredations ; for it rendered the lower orders

of people desperate in this respect ; taught them to combine together into bands, under such adventurous leaders as Robinhood, that they might be sufficiently strong to overcome any force opposed to them ; and induced them rather to murder the foresters, or die themselves, than be exposed to that torture or cruel death which certainly awaited them, if taken in their unlawful pursuit. A very similar effect, though not to the same extent, is produced in our own times, by the present modifications of the *forest law* in the districts where it operates ; and by the existing *game laws* over the whole kingdom. Offences against both these codes (with a reference to their *moral turpitude*) are light ; the temptations to commit them great, and the inflictions severe. These are considerations which will have an influence on the minds of the lower orders of people ; and the loose, the idle, and the young, while they will not hesitate at perpetrating an act which they do not perceive to involve any great degree of guilt, will at the same time endeavour to secure themselves from the unequal punishment denounced against it,

by associating into parties sufficiently numerous for their protection in the commission of it, or for inflicting vengeance on those who have a legal authority to interrupt and apprehend them.

The melioration of forest law afforded, to all the privileged classes of our ancestors, an opportunity of enjoying a sport for which all felt a strong propensity ; and hunting and hawking, (for they were frequently associated together,) became at once the most popular as well as fashionable of all amusements. They had already availed themselves of every occasional relaxation in the laws against hunting, or of any period in which they were not rigidly enforced, to indulge their ardour for the chase ; but relieved as they now were, from cruel restrictions, and dangerous consequences, not only the higher classes of laymen, but *ecclesiastics* and *ladies*, also sought and formed their chief delight, in the “ mad tumult and discordant joy” of this favourite sport. That the fair sex pursued it with frequency and ardour, is manifest from many descriptions of, and allusions to, the subject, in our early writers ; and, especially, from de-

lineations which remain to this day of hunting matches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From the latter we find, that the ladies were sometimes accustomed to go to the field in the most independent way ; with no male attendant, armed with bows and arrows ; provided with dogs and horns ; and we must add (though loth) mounted on horseback, in the manner of the rougher sex.* This masculine practice however was not general or long-continued. They appear usually as companions of the rougher sex ; riding in a litter or chair, which was either borne by men, or carried on a horse ; and as being rather spectators of the sport, than actually engaged in pursuing the objects of it. Not such, however, was the hunting practised by the clerical Nimrods.† Bishops, and abbots,

* See plate xi. in Strutt's *Glist of Gamena Angel Theod.* p. 12.

† The *common law* sanctioned the *clergy* in the practice of hunting, and for a reason somewhat whimsical. Sir Edward Coke adduces its authority, in vindication of reverend sportsmen. " Here is a secret conclusion of law: " that albeit spiritual persons are prohibited by the *canon law* to hunt, yet by the *common law* of the land, they may, for their recreation, to make them *fitter for the perform-*

and priors, and deans, mingled in the chace ; and carried, if we may credit their contemporaries, a far greater activity in its occupations, than in the exercise of the functions of their profession.* A few examples will justify the assertion.

Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was promoted to the see of Rochester in 1147,

ance of their duty and office, use the exercise of hunting.—Justit. 4. 309.

* The middle ages afford sad proofs of the degeneracy of the episcopal character, and of the sacrifice of dignity and decency, in patriarchs, bishops, and priests, to field diversions. Theophylact, patriarch of Alexandria, in the tenth century, had in his stable above two thousand hunting horses, which he fed with pig-nuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in exquisite wines ; to which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled ; upon which he threw down the liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where, having expressed his joy at the grand event, he returned to the altar, to finish the divine service, which he had left interrupted during his absence. Mosh. Ecc. Hist. v. ii. p. 400 ; translator's note (o). In this dark period, it was the practice in some churches, for the *Deans*, when entering on their important office, to assist at the ceremony in a hunting costume ; girded with a sword ; furnished with a whip ; having golden spurs on the feet ; and a hawk on their list. Du Fresne v. ii. p. 17, in voc. *Decani Ecc. Cathed.*

spent the whole of his time in *hunting* ; to the utter neglect of all the high duties of his office. He lived to a very advanced age ; and, when eighty years old, was as keen a sportsman as ever.*

Of the same character and habits was Reginald Brian, translated to the see of Worcester, in 1352. In an extant manuscript epistle of his, addressed to the Bishop of St. David's, Reginald reminds the holy father of a promise which he had made, to send him six brace of excellent hunting dogs ; the best (as the sportsman confesses) that he had ever seen. Of these Renigald says, he had been in daily anxious expectation ; and he declares that his heart languished for their arrival. " Let them, " come then (he intreats,) oh ! reverend father, " without delay : let my woods re-echo with " the music of their cry, and the cheerful " notes of the horn ; and let the walls of my " palace be decorated with the trophies of " the chace."†

* Petri Blesensis Epist. 56, p. 81.

† MS. Bib. Cot. Mus. Brit. Vitellius, c. x. 17.

William de Clowne, whom his biographer celebrates as the most amiable ecclesiastic that ever filled the abbot's throne of St. Mary's in Leicestershire, was a deep adept in all the mysteries of hunting. That his kennel might always be well supplied; he requested Richard II. to grant him a market or fair, for the sale and purchase of sporting dogs; a request which the King complied with, seeing the abbot *passionately* desired it. He was, continues his eulogist, the most famous and knowing sportsman after a hare, in the kingdom; insomuch that the king himself, Prince Edward his son, and most of the grandees in the realm, allowed him annual pensions, for his instructions in the art of hare hunting.*

Chaucer, the admirable and faithful painter of the manners of his age, has given us a very particular and amusing portrait of a sporting monastic of the fourteenth century; the original (probably) from which the abbot in *Ivanhoe* is copied.

* Henry de Knyghton de Event. Aug. Dec. Scrip. v. ii, p. 2631.

A monk there was, a fayre for the maistrie,*
 An outrider that loved venerie : †
 A manly man to ben an abbot able :
 Ful meny a dainte hors hadde he in stable,
 And when he rode, men might his bridle here ‡
 Gingeling in a whistling wind as clere
 And eke as loud, as doth the chapell bell
 Whereat this lord was keeper of the cell.

The reule of St. Maure and of St. Beneit,
 Because that it was old, and somedele streit, §
 This ilke (*same*) monke lette olde thinges to pace, ||
 And helden after the new world to trace.
 He gave not of the text a pulled hen **
 That saith that hunters be not holy men.
 Ne that a monke when he is rekkeless † †
 Is like to a fish that is waterless ;
 That is to say, a menk out of his cloistre :
 This ilke text held he not worth an oistre.
 And I say his opinion was good.

Greihoundes he hadde, as swift as foul of flight :
 Of pricking and of hunting for the hare
 Was all his lust; for no coste wolde he spare.

* Clever in the art.

† *Venerie*. Hunting, Emilia says, in the *Knight's Tale* v. 2310.

I am (thou wot) yet of thy compaignie,
 A mayde, and love huntyng and venerie.

‡ This alludes to a custom common in Chaucer's time among persons of distinction, who usually had their horse's bridle or some part of his furniture, stuck full of small bells. Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.* v. i. p. 146, note (h).

§ The reule or order of St. Mary of Cistercium, and of St. Benedict, was too strict:

|| To go on as they were wont.

** As we say, he did not care a straw for the text.

† † Careless.

I saw his sleeves purfiled* at the hande
 With grys,† and that the finest in the lande.
 And to sustene his hode under his chin,
 He had of gold wrought a full curious pin;
 A love-knotte in the greater ende there was.
 His head was bald, and shone as any glas;
 And eke his face, as he had been anynt:
 He was a lorde ful fat, and in gode point.
 His eyen stepe (*deep*), and rolling in his hed,
 That stemid (*smoked*) as a forneis of led.
 His bootes souple, his hors in gret estat:
 Now certainly he was a fayre prelat.
 A fat swan loved he best of any rost ‡
 — His palfry was as brown as is a bery.§

The popularity of the amusement of hunting among our forefathers gave rise to a variety of treatises on the subject; in which the art was considered in all its branches, the most approved modes of pursuing it described, instructions given to the tyro, hints suggested to the more advanced sportsman, and rules laid down for the observance of those who filled the various offices of the forest or park, the kennel or the stable. One of the most curious of these treatises

* Fringed.

† Fur

‡ The swan was in high esteem among the old English, and constantly seen at all their great entertainments. The fashionable manner of dressing it appears to have been, to take off its skin, and *roast* it. When sufficiently done, it was taken from the fire, the tail feathers again put on, and served up at the table.

§ Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, verse 164.

extant, is a MS., written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in Norman French, by William Twici, grand huntsman to Edward II. :* an ancient translation of it into English is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.†

The treatise begins thus, for it is a motley composition, partly verse, partly prose :

- “ Alle such dysport as voydeth (*prevents*) ydilnesse,
- “ It sytteth (*suits*) every gentilman to knowe,
- “ For myrthe anexed is to gentilnesse ;
- “ Wherefore among alle other, as I trowe,
- “ To know the crafte of hunting, and to blowe,
- “ As this booke shall witnesse, is ove (*of*) the beste,
- “ For it is holsium, pleasaunt, and honest.”

It then enumerates and describes the different beasts that were objects of the chace in England ; and proceeds, in the manner of a dialogue, to inform the huntsman how he ought to blow his horn, at the different points of the hunt.

* Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. ii. page 221, note (*m.*)

† Vesp. b. xii. Strutt's Horda Angel. Cynnan, vol. iii. page 119.

“ *Of* BLOWYNG.

“ Question. Syr Hunter, for how many
 “ bestis shal a man blow the *mene* ?*

“ Answer. For thre males, and for one
 “ female; that is to say, for an *Hert*, the
 “ *Wolfh male*, and also the *Wolfh* female,
 “ as well as her husband.

“ Question. How shal ye blowe, when ye
 “ have seen the *Hert* ?

“ Answer. I shal blowe after *mote*, two
 “ *motes*; and if myn houndes come not has-
 “ tily to me, as I wolde, I shall blowe four
 “ *motes*; and for to hast them to me, and for
 “ to warne the gentelys (*gentry*) that the
 “ *Hert* is sene, then shall *rechase* on my
 “ houndes three times; and whan he (*the*
 “ *Hert*) is ferre from me, then shall y *chase*
 “ hym in this manner.—Trout-trout-tro-ro-
 “ rot; trout-trout-tro, ro, rot-trou-ro-rot;
 “ trou-ro-rot.

“ Question. Syr Hunter, why blowe ye so?

“ Answer. For cause that the *Hert* is seen,

* *Mene*. A plaintive or solemn tune, blown at the deat^h.
 —*Mene Vet. Ang. Dolere, ingemiscere*; Vide *Junius in verb.*

“ and y wot nene, (*and I do'nt know*) whedir
 “ that myn houndis be come fro myn *meyne*.

“ Question. And what maner of chace clepe
 “ (*call*) you that ?

“ Answer. We clepe it the *chase* of the
 “ *Forloyne*. I *chace* with my houndis that
 “ be hunting another *chase*, that is clepyd the
 “ *perfyzt*; then ye shal begyne to blowe a long
 “ *mote*, and afterwards two short *motes*, in
 “ this manner; trout-trout; and then trout,
 “ tro-ro-rot, begynnyng with a long *mote*; for
 “ every man that is abowte yow, and can skylle
 “ of venery (*is well skilled in hunting*) may
 “ knowe in what poynt ye be in by youre
 “ horne. Another chase there is, whane a
 “ man hath set up archerys, and greyhoundes,
 “ and the beste be founde, and passe out the
 “ boundys, and myne houndes after; then
 “ shall I blowe on this maner, a *mote*, and
 “ afterwards the *rechase* upon houndys, that
 “ be passed the boundys; which be the boundes
 “ that we assigned.

“ Question. Syr Hunter, wole ye sech
 “ (*explain*) this chace.

“ Answer. Ya, Syr. If it be a beste in

“ strest (*trist*,)* and myn houndes pass out on
 “ the bounds, and if ye wil not that they
 “ chase any longer, I shall blowe a *mote*, and
 “ afterward I shall strake after myn houndes,
 “ for to have them a yen (*again*;) and when
 “ the *chevet* is take, ye shall saye “ howe—
 “ harrowe.”

Then follow certain regulations, to be observed when the beasts so hunted should be taken by the hounds. As first of the *hare*.

“ And whane the hare is take, and your
 “ houndes have ronne wel to hyr, ye shall
 “ blowe; and afterward ye shal give to your
 “ houndes the *hallow*, and that is, the syde of
 “ the shuldres, the neck, and the hed;† and
 “ the loyne shall to the kechone, (*kitchen*.)

“ And whanne the *hert* is take, ye shal
 “ blowe four *motys*, and it shall be desected
 “ as of other bestes; and if your houndes be
 “ bold, and have sleyn the hert with strength
 “ of huntynge, ye shalle have the skynne; and

* *Trist*, an inclosure.

† It is amusing to observe the capricious change of taste, and opinions respecting the same thing, in different ages. What the Roman epicure considered as the *tit-bit* about an hare (*the shoulder*,) “*Facundi leporis sapiens sectabitur Armos*.” (*Hor. Sat. l. ii. s. iv. l. 44*,) our ancestors threw to the dogs.

“ he that undoeth hym, (*cuts him up,*) shal
 “ have the shuldre by law of venerye ; and the
 “ houndis shal be rewardid with the neckke;
 “ and with the bowellis, with the feet ; and
 “ they shal be etyn under the skynne; and
 “ therefore it is clepid the *Guarre* ; and the
 “ hed shal be bout homme to the lord of the
 “ skynne ; the wex, the gargilonne, above the
 “ tail, forched on the right hynde, then blowe
 “ at the dore of the halle the *pryse*.

“ Whane the *buk* is i take, (*taken,*) ye
 “ shal blowe *pryse* ; and reward the houndes
 “ with the paunche, and the bowellis.

“ Whane the *bore* is i take, he be deffetyd
 “ alvelve, (*perhaps always dissected or cut*
 “ *up ;*) and he shal have thirty-two hasceleytys,
 “ and ye shal gif your houndes the bowellis,
 “ boyled with bredd, and it is called *reward*,
 “ for cause that it is etyn on the earth, and
 “ not on the skynne. When he shal be carried
 “ home, the houndis shal be rewarded with
 “ the fete, and the body shal to the kechyne.

“ The sesounne of the fox begynneth at
 “ the Nativity of our Lady, and dureth til the

* Annunciation; and the *hare* is always in
 ‘sesonne to be chasyd.’

Among the numerous kinds of dogs which attended our ancestors to the chace, none seem to have been so highly prized as *greyhounds*. They were, indeed, the favourite species of the middle ages.* When a nobleman travelled, he never went without these dogs: the hawk he bore upon his fist, and the greyhounds, which ran before him, were certain testimonies of his rank; and in the ancient pipe-rolls, payments appear to have been often made in these valuable animals.† He was chiefly useful in the pursuits of the hart, stag, and roe buck.

In the ancient MS. cited above, the following notices of other dogs occur.

“*Of Raches, or Houndes.*”

“First, the *running houndes*, the same
 “with those to chase the hares, &c.—The
 “*grey-houndes*—the *alauntes*, or bull-dogs,

* See Warton, v. i. p. 363.

† Rot. Pip. An. 4 Johan. A. D. 1203, and several other instances in Wart. Hist. Eng. Poet. v. i. p. 363, note (p.)

“(these were chiefly for hunting the *boar*.)
 “The *spaniel** was a hound for *hawking*, his
 “craft is for the *perdrich* and the *quayle*.—
 “The *mastiff* is also a good hounde, for
 “hunting of the wild *boare*.”

But the following descriptive lines from Shakespeare mark the species of dog most esteemed in this country in the sixteenth century:

“My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
 “So flewed, so sanded, and their heads are hung
 “With ears, that sweep away the morning dew ;
 “Crook-kneed, and dew-lap’d, like Thessalian bulls:
 “Slow in pursuit ; but match’d in mouth like bells,
 “Each under each,”

This dog seems to have been the old English blood-hound ; a breed, which, though it still subsists, has lost, by intermixture with plebeian blood, those strongly-defined characteristic features described in the above lines. Notwithstanding, towards the latter end of

* In Turberville’s “Booke of Falconrie,” imprinted at London 1575, there is a long account of the *spaniel*, the uses to which he was applied ; modes of cure when he was disordered or injured, &c. p. 362. In this work is a curious print of a nobleman temp. Elizabeth, with his hawk, hounds, and attendants.

the last century it was mentioned as an admirable hound by the Chevalier Du Fresne.*

I close this account of ancient hunting with a few observations on the animals which afforded amusement to our forefathers in the chase.

That the wild-boar was a *constant* object of sport with the Saxons, and *occasionally* with the Anglo-Normans and old English, is not denied by any one: but it seems to be a matter of doubt with some, whether the *wolf* continued to be hunted in this country after the reign of Edgar, the Anglo-Saxon. Hume, citing William of Malmesbury as his authority, asserts, that this æra was marked by the extirpation of wolves from England.† Our ingenious historian, however, seems to have considered the passage in Malmesbury rather too hastily. The monk does not say that

* Angli habent canes bellicosos, oculis lippis, et detortis, labris et malis adeo sordidis et dependentibus, ut advenis mera monstra videantur. Et quanto deformiores, eo meliores æstimandi: nam etsi et labra plurimum propendeant, eo certius odorem quasi sorbent, et clariorem ululatum faventis vestigationis testem adeunt, &c. v. i. p. 744.

† Hume's Hist. Eng. 8vo. edit. v. i. p. 133.

Edgar *actually destroyed* the breed of wolves throughout his kingdoms, but that he *intended* or *thought* to have done it :* and in pursuance of this determination, he imposed a tribute on Llodwallo king of Wales, of three hundred heads of wolves to be paid to him yearly; which tribute having been sent for *three* years, was dropped on the *fourth*; Llodwallo declaring he could not find any more wolves within his realm. But surely we have no right to infer from this passage that the breed was extinguished as well in England as in Wales. Indeed, there are documents remaining to the present day, which entirely contradict a supposition of this nature; and convince us that the *wolf* was hunted in this country so lately as the fourteenth century.†

* Will. Malm. de Gest. Ang. apud Savill. Scrip. fol. 32. b. l. 40.

† In the fifteenth century the wolf was so common in Scotland, that the Legislature, for the purpose of destroying the breed, enjoined every baron to hunt this animal *four* times during the year. And the sheriffs of different counties were obliged to have public wolf-huntings *three* times within the year.—*Black. Acts James I. c. 115; James II. c. 98.*

They are expressly mentioned as beasts of the chase in the laws of King Henry I;* and among those who formerly held by that mode of tenure called *petit sergeantry*, it was very customary to perform the service of hunting and destroying the wolves in different parts of the kingdom.†

But the following citation from Twici's Treatise on the Craft of Hunting will not only confirm the assertion made above, of wolves being hunted in England so late as the fourteenth century, but give us some information respecting other beasts which our forefathers pursued.‡

- " And for to sette yonge huntērys in the way
- " To venery, I cast me fyrst to go ;
- " Of wheche 4 bestes be, that is to say,
- " The hare, the herte, the wulfhe, the wild boor.
- " And there ben other bestes, 5 of the chace,
- " The buk the first, the do the seconde,
- " The fox the thynde, whiche oft hath harde grace ;

* Leges Hen. I. c. 90, in Lambard's *Archaionom.* p. 212.

† Blount's *Anc. Ten.* p. 140, et *infra*.

‡ To the above proofs we add the following: in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 168, is a commission granted by Edward I. A. D. 1281, to Peter Corbet, to hunt and destroy all the wolves he could discover in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford.

" The ferthe the *martyn*,* and the last the *roo*.
 " And thre other bestis beene of great dysport,
 " The *grey†* is one thereof, with his slepy pace ;
 " The *cat‡* another, the *otre* (*otter*) one also."

Of this list, which it is apprehended enumerates all the animals that have ever been hunted in England, we have the hare, buck, doe, fox, martin, badger, pole and wild cats, still remaining. The wolf, wild boar, and roebuck, have long since disappeared.

The particular periods when the two former became extinct in this country, cannot, probably, be ascertained. The history and fall of the roebuck are better known. He continued to be an inhabitant of England till within the last eighty years; and was not infrequently met with on the wastes, a small distance from Hexham in Northumberland. As the breed, however, became gradually more scarce, it was sought for with greater eagerness; so that after enduring the united attacks of the dog and gun for a few seasons, it at length dwindled into one solitary animal, which about

* The ferthe and martin are different species of the same genus.

† Badger. ‡ The pole-cat, or perhaps the wild cat.

sixty years since is said to have been destroyed by — Whitfield, esq; of Whitfield in Northumberland.*

As the objects of chase insensibly decreased in England, so the ardour for the sport gradually cooled : and what was anciently a passion of great intensity, and an universal pursuit among the higher orders, is, in modern times, (with comparatively few exceptions), merely a variety in diversion, or an accidental indulgence. Our amusements have now more the character of intellect about them, than heretofore ; and happily nothing is popular with the better bred, and well educated, but what is more or less connected with taste or literature. It might be objected, indeed, that the patronage bestowed on *pugilism*, by certain sprigs of fashion ; and the obstinate resistance in our senate to the prohibition of *bull-baiting*, seem to prove that the reign of *barbarism* among us is not quite extinguished ; but, let it be recollected, that the taste of a *few* of the *vulgar great* ought not to be regarded as that of the *whole order* to which they

* Percy's Rel. Ancient Eng. Poet. v. i. p. 24, note.

belong : nor their propensities be considered as the characteristics of those, who, (for the most part), feel and shew that they *have better things to do*.

The unerring *arrow* and tough *bow* were implements in great esteem, and constant use with our ancestors, both in hunting and in war.* Many of the victories recorded in our early history were obtained by the skill and strength of our archers ; whose deadly aim, and powerful discharge of their arrows, were themes of admiration, and subjects of terror among their enemies. So important was this mode of national defence considered by our early monarchs, that by a statute of Edward II. every person (not having land above one hundred pence per annum) was compelled to be furnished with a bow and arrows ; and several legislative enactments were at different times made to protect and encourage the growth of *yew* trees

* The *Arbalist*, or crossbow, was chiefly used in warfare. It seems to have been introduced from the continent about the commencement of the thirteenth century. The ong bow was indifferently adopted in the chase and conflict,

through the kingdom, or to enjoin the importation of *yew* staves from abroad, as it was from this wood that the English manufactured their incomparable bows. Equally destructive was this weapon in the chase. No animal was too large for the elastic force of the bow ; or so swift as to outrun the lightning flight of the arrow. The *accuracy* also of the marksman was another seal of fate to the game. Such indeed seems to have been the certainty with which the English archer hit his mark, that the imputed skill of *Locksley* did not exceed that of our ancestors ; for, if we may believe the faithful and minute representations of old English manners, contained in our ancient ballads, with a bow about six feet long, and arrow of a cloth yard in length,* a

* In the ancient black letter " *Geste of Robyn Hode*," it is said, that he and his followers had an hundred bows furnished with strings, and an hundred sheafs of good arrows, with bright burnished heads ; every arrow was *an ell* long, adorned with peacocks' feathers, and bound at the notch with white silk. Garrick's collection K. v. 10. The lines are closely descriptive :

With them they had an hundred bowes The stringes were well ydight ; An hundred shef of arrows good, With hedes burnish'd full bryght :	And every arrowe an ell longe With peacocke well ydight, And nocked they were with white silk : It was a semely syght.
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well-practised archer would split a wand, or cleave an apple in twain, at the astonishing distance of four hundred and eighty yards.*

In the *Geste of Robyn Hode*, a story is related of a visit of the King, disguised as an abbot, to this celebrated outlaw. Robin, desirous to amuse his guest, proposed a shooting match. Two wands were accordingly set up, but so far apart,

By fifty space our Kynge sayde
The merkes were to longe—

The objection, however, was disregarded by the well-practised archer:

Whoso faileth of the rose garlande, said Robyn,
His takyll he shall tyne (*forfeit*)
And yelde it to his maister ;
Be it never so fine—
Twyse Robin shot about,
And ever he cleved the wande.

In another ballad of the same description, and, probably, the same antiquity, three other celebrated archers, Adam Bell, Clym of the Cloughe, and William Cloudesle, are introduced as shooting before the King. His

* This account is partly confirmed in Carew's Survey of Cornwall, book 1, fol. 73.

Majesty's own bowmen had already prepared the "butts" or dead marks, which were so large and easy to hit, as to excite the derision of Cloudesle, who says,

I hold hym never no good archere,
That shooteth at buttes so wide :

and providing himself with two "hasell
"rodde," he stuck them into the ground at the distance of four hundred yards from each other, and discharged an arrow at each. To the astonishment of the King, the archer split the mark :

Cloudesle with a bearing arrow
Clave the wand in two.

The King could not refrain from expressing his admiration of the skill of Cloudesle; upon which the bold archer declared that he would exceed the feat he had just performed; and immediately tied his eldest son, a child of seven years old, to a stake, and placed an apple on his head. Having done this, he carefully measured a distance of one hundred and twenty yards from the stake; and planting himself at the termination of this line, and

earnestly intreating the spectators to preserve a solemn silence, he, like another William Tell,

———— drew out a fayre brode arrowe ;
 Hys bowe was great and longe,
 He set that arrowe in his bowe,
 That was both styffe and stronge,
 Then Cloudesle cleft that apple in two,
 As many a man myght se,
 Our Godes forbode (*God forbid!*) sayde the Kynge
 That thou shold shote at me.

TOURNAMENTS.—The spirit-stirring description of the tournament in *Ivanhoe* is an anticipation of the manners of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This martial diversion, it is true, had been adopted in England earlier than this period, but not invested with those circumstances of pomp,

“ The tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
 “ Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
 “ Bases and tinsel trappings ;”

together with the solemn forms, and numerous ordinances, which characterized and regulated it in the reigns of Edward I. Edward III. and Richard II. In Normandy tournaments had

been popular previously to the conquest, and the practice would doubtless be introduced into England, together with other habits and amusements of the foreigners, as soon as they had settled themselves in their new acquisition. We hear nothing, however, of their encouragement by royalty, till the reign of Richard I.* to whose martial taste these chivalric diversions were so exactly adapted; and who foresaw that the popular passion for them might be converted into one mode of replenishing his exhausted coffers. As soon as the truce between Philip and Richard was concluded in 1194, (says an old chronicler,) the military sports and exercises, commonly called Tournaments, began to be celebrated in England by the permission of King Richard, who imposed a certain tax upon all who engaged in these diversions.† The permission was couched in

* We must except, however, that magnificent tournament celebrated in the plains of Beaucavie, in France, (where they managed these matters better than in England), in which ten thousand knights, crowds of ladies, and a multitude of spectators were present. *Hen. Hist.* vi. 370.

† *Guil. Neubrigen.* l. v. c. 4.

the following words:—" Richard by the grace
 " of God, &c. to the Rev. Father in Christ
 " Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.
 " greeting ; Know that we have permitted
 " tournaments to be held in England in five
 " places ; between Sarum and Wilton ; be-
 " tween Warwicke and Kenelingeworthe ;
 " between Stamford and Warrinford ; be-
 " tween Brakebery and Mixebery ; between
 " Blie and Tyke-hill ; yet so that the peace of
 " our land be not broken, nor justice hindered,
 " nor damage done to our forests. And an
 " Earl who shall turney there, shall pay us
 " twenty marcs, and a baron ten marcs,
 " and a knight who has land four marcs, and
 " a knight who has no land two marcs.
 " Wherefore we command you, that, at the
 " day of the tournament, you shall provide,
 " at each place, two clerks, and two knights,
 " to receive the oaths from the earls and
 " barons, for their satisfaction, concerning
 " the aforesaid sums."*

Richard both gratified his taste, and aided
 his exchequer, by this formal institution of

* Hearnii Præf. ad Guil. Neubrig. xlix.

the tournament: for, as the old chronicler goes on to inform us, " this royal exaction did
 " not in the least abate the ardour with which
 " the youth of England crowded to these
 " exercises: for such conflicts in which the
 " combatants engaged without any animosity,
 " merely to display their dexterity and
 " strength, had not been frequent in Eng-
 " land except in the reign of King Stephen,
 " when the reins of Government were much
 " relaxed: as former kings, and also Henry
 " II., had prohibited tournaments, and obliged
 " those who desired to acquire glory in such
 " encounters to go into foreign countries." But, it was reserved for the age of Edward I. to exhibit those splendid scenes in England, which had already glittered on the continent,

" Where throngs of knights and barons bold
 " In weeds of peace high triumphs hold,
 " With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
 " Rain influence, and judge the prize:*

* Among the articles of the *Justes* at Westminster in 1509, is the following item: " Yf yt is the pleasure of the
 " Kyng; the Quene's grace and the ladies, with the ad-
 " vice of the noble and dyscreet judges, to give *pryses*,
 " after their deservings, unto both the parties." The Anti-

and in which he had himself, before he came to the crown, proved the loftiness of his spirit, and the valour and strength of his arm. While yet Prince of Wales, and as soon as he became a knight, he had sought for adventures and fame on the continent ; visiting, with his brave companions, every court in which the tournament afforded an opportunity for the display of his gallantry and skill. On his return towards England, he tarried at the court of Savoy, where a solemn assembly of this description had been proclaimed. The Count of Savoy, emulous of Edward's fame, requested that he might be permitted the honour of encountering him. Edward readily accepted the challenge. The two heroes met, with a tremendous shock ; and the Count, depending on his vast personal strength, throwing away his sword, seized his opponent round the middle, and endeavoured to unhorse him : Edward, however, sat with the firmness and erectness of a pillar, and grappling with the Count,

quarian Society have given a print of this ceremony, from a Roll in the Coll. of Arms. Todd's Milton, vol. v. p. 98, note from Warton.

bore him from his saddle, and threw him to earth. A serious contest ensued between the attendants of the two princes, from the irritation of the Savoyards at the discomfiture of their leader; which was terminated by a second rencounter between Edward and the Count. The issue of this was similar to the former result; when the Count nobly acknowledged the superiority of his guest, and the games ceased.* Edward, on coming to the throne, greatly encouraged an amusement with which he was so much delighted, and in which he so greatly excelled; and it was under his auspices that the great Earl Roger Mortimer erected at his castle at Kenelworth the famous round table, after the ancient manner in which tradition reported it had been held by the British Arthur. To this institution all the young nobles of Christendom were invited, to try their skill in arms, and to assert the beauty of their respective mistresses; and a hundred knights, and as many courtly ladies, were continually retained in the house for the purpose of entertaining these gallant

* Walsingham, page 13.

guests.* Harding's account, indeed, gives much greater idea of the magnificence Mortimer :

And in the yere a thousand was full then
Two hundred also sixty and ninetene,
When Sir Roger Mortimer so began
At Kelengworth, the round table as was sene,
Of a thousand knyghts for decipline,
Of young menne, after he could devise,
Of turnementes and justes to exercise.
A thousand ladies, excelleng in beautee,
He had also there, in tentes high above
The justes, that thei might well and clerely see
Who justed beste there for their lady love,
For whose beauteie it should the knyghtes move
In armes so eche other to revie (*rival*),
To get a fame in play of chivalry.†

* Vide Annotations to Drayton's *Heroical Epistles*, note e, page 93, folio edition of Drayton's works: also Warton's *Observ. on Spenser*, vol. i.

† Harding's *Chron.* c. 155, fol. 161. The following note from Strutt's *View of Manners, &c.* will illustrate Harding's lines. "All these warlike games, as those of the round table, and tilts or tournaments, are by historians too often confounded together: but they were different games, as appears by a passage in that celebrated historian Matthew Paris, who, speaking of these sports in the life of Henry III., writes thus: *Non in hastiludio illo, quod vulgariter torneamentum dicitur, sed potius in illo ludo militari, qui mensa rotunda dicitur, &c. not in the tilts which we commonly call tournaments, but*

The beneficial effects of an institution of this nature, so admirably calculated to keep up a spirit of martial ardour among a brave but unlettered nobility, induced Edward III. (himself enthusiastically attached to all the institutions of chivalry,) once more to revive the round table at Windsor; and he did it with extraordinary magnificence.* The renewal of these solemnities brought crowds of gallant knights to the royal castle; and so great was the concourse that flocked from all the countries of Europe, and particularly from France, to reap the laurels of chivalry in the court of Edward, that Philip Valois the French monarch, either stimulated by envy, or the fear that his own palace would be de-

“ rather in that military game called the round table. The
 “ first was the tilting or running at each other with lances;
 “ the second, likely, was the same with that ancient sport
 “ called *barriers*, which comes from the old French,
 “ *barres*, or *jeu de barres*, a martial sport (says the glosso-
 “ graphy) of men armed, and fighting together with short
 “ swords, within certain limits or lists, whereby they were
 “ severed from the spectators, and this fighting without
 “ lances distinguished the barriers or round-table knights
 “ from the other.”—Page 92, vol. ii. note.

* Thom. Walsing. Hist. Ang. apud Camd. Ang. Norm. Scriptores, page 164, line 31, edit. 1803, fol.

serted by the flower of his nobility, instituted a round table in his kingdom also.*

The court of this prince, indeed, was the very theatre of sumptuous carousal and romantic elegance. The martial amusements of tilts and tournaments, which were always accompanied by splendid feasting, were so much encouraged by this monarch, that we have instances of these ceremonies being solemnly celebrated by his command, at different cities, no less than seven times within the course of one year; so partial was this warlike prince to exercises that bore any relation to arms.† When the Prince of Heynault brought some troops to his assistance, the reception given him was most noble. “The gentyl King of England,” says Froissart, who was cotemporary with

* Anstis’s *Reg. Ord. Gart.* v. 1. *Strutt’s View*, &c. vol. ii. *Warton’s Observat. on Spenser*, vol. i. et *Thom. Walsing.* apud *Camd. Scrip.* p. 164, l. 40.

† The tournaments of this magnificent reign, Mr. Warton observes, were constantly crowded with ladies of the first distinction, who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose. This practice, however, Knyghton tells us, was deemed scandalous. *Inter decem Scrip.* apud *Twisden*, vol. ii. page 2597.

Edward, " the better to feste these straunge
 " lordes, and all their company, held a greate
 " court on Trinite Sunday in the Friers;
 " whereat he and the quene his mother were
 " lodged, keeping their house eche of them
 " aparte. Att this feaste the king had well
 " five hundred knights; and fifteen were new
 " made. And the quene had well in her
 " courte sixty ladies and damozelles, who
 " were there ready to make feaste and chere
 " to Syr John of Heynaulte, and to his com-
 " panie. There myght have been sene great
 " nobles, plenty of all manner of straunge
 " vitaille. There were ladies and damozelles
 " freshly apparalled, redy to have daunced, if
 " they might have leave."*

Froissart, who seems to have been never more delighted than when beholding or describing the martial amusements of his own times, has given us many minute and most interesting details of tournaments, at several of which he was personally present. The following extract from his amusing *Chronicles* will, probably, both gratify the reader, and satisfy

‡ Froissart's *Chron.* c. 16, Lord Berner's translation.

him that the author of *Ivanhoe* had full authority in real history for his splendid detail of the costume and events at his imaginary tournament. It is taken from a description of one which was held at Saint Inglevere, near Calais, and proclaimed to last "for thirty days against all comers, from England and elsewhere." The extract includes the transactions of the two first days.

"At the beginning of the charming month of May, the three before-mentioned young French knights were fully prepared to maintain their challenge in the lists at Saint Inglevere. They first came to Boulogne, where I know not how many days they tarried, and then went to the monastery of St. Inglevere. On their arrival, they learnt that numbers of English knights and squires were come to Calais. This gave them much pleasure; and to hasten the business, and that news should be carried to the English, they ordered three rich vermilion-coloured pavilions to be pitched near the appointed place for the lists, and before each were suspended two targets, for peace or war, emblazoned

with the arms of each lord. It was ordered, that such as were desirous of performing any deed of arms should touch, or send to have touched, one or both of these targets according to their pleasure, and they would be tilted with agreeably to their request.

“ On the 21st of the month of May, as it had been proclaimed, the three knights were properly armed, and their horses ready saddled, according to the laws of the tournament. On the same day those knights who were in Calais sallied forth, either as spectators or tilters, and being arrived at the spot drew up on one side. The place of the tournament was smooth, and green with grass.

“ Sir John Holland was the first who sent his squire to touch the war-target of Sir Boucicaut, who instantly issued from his pavilion completely armed. Having mounted his horse, and grasped his spear, which was stiff and well steeled, they took their distances. When the two knights had for a short time eyed each other, they spurred

their horses, and met full gallop with such force, that Sir Boucicaut pierced the shield of the Earl of Huntingdon, and the point of his lance slipped along his arm, but without wounding him. The two knights, having passed, continued their gallop to the end of the list. This course was much praised. At the second course, they hit each other slightly, but no harm was done ; and their horses refused to complete the third.

“ The Earl of Huntingdon, who wished to continue the tilt, and was heated, returned to his place, expecting that Sir Boucicaut would call for his lance ; but he did not, and shewed plainly he would not that day tilt more with the Earl. Sir John Holland, seeing this, sent his squire to touch the war target of the Lord de Saimpi. This knight, who was waiting for the combat, sallied out from his pavilion, and took his lance and shield. When the Earl saw he was ready, he violently spurred his horse, as did the Lord de Saimpi. They couched their lances, and pointed them at each other. At the onset their horses crossed ; notwithstanding which they met ; but by this

crossing, which was blamed, the Earl was unhelmed. He returned to his people, who soon re-helmed him; and, having resumed their places, they met full gallop, and hit each other with such force in the middle of their shields, that they would have been unhorsed, had they not kept tight seats by the pressure of their legs against the horses' sides. They went to the proper places, where they refreshed themselves, and took breath.

“ Sir John Holland, who had a great desire to shine at this tournament, had his helmet braced, and grasped his spear again; when the Lord de Saimpi, seeing him advance on a gallop, did not decline meeting, but, spurring his horse on instantly, they gave blows on their helmets, that were luckily of well-tempered steel, which made sparks of fire fly from them. At this course the Lord de Saimpi lost his helmet; but the two knights continued their career, and returned to their places.

“ This tilt was much praised; and the English and French said, that the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Boucicaut, and the Lord

de Saimpi, had excellently well justed, without sparing or doing themselves any damage. The Earl wished to break another lance in honour of his lady, but it was refused him. He then quitted the lists, to make room for others; for he had run his six lances with such ability and courage as gained him praise from all sides.

“ A young and gallant knight of England next came forth, called the Earl Marshal, who sent, according to the regulations, to touch the war-target of Sir Reginald de Roye. This being done, Sir Reginald came from his pavilion completely armed, and mounted his horse that was ready for him : having had his shield and helmet buckled on, he seized his lance, and took his distance. The two knights spurred their horses, but, at this first course, failed in their strokes, from their horses swerving out of the line, to their great vexation. Sir Reginald was hit with the second lance, and had his own broken. At the third course, they met with such force that the fire sparkled from their helmets, and the earl was unhelmed. He

continued his career to his own place, but justed no more that day, as he had done sufficiently.

“ The Lord Clifford, a valiant knight, and cousin-german to the late Sir John Chandos, of famed renown, then advanced, and sent to have the war shield of Sir Boucicaut touched with a rod. Sir Boucicaut instantly appeared, and, having his armour laced, mounted his horse; placing his lance in its rest, they met full gallop, and made, by their blows, the fire fly from their helmets, but they neither broke their lances, nor lost their stirrups : having passed, they returned to their places, making ready for the second course. This was done without any way sparing themselves : Sir Boucicaut broke his lance, and was unhelmed, but did not for this fall to the ground. Lord Clifford returned to his place, to prepare himself for another course, but Sir Boucicaut did not again put on his helmet. Lord Clifford, noticing this, resolved to perform a tilt with another knight, and sent his squire to touch the shield of the Lord de Saimpi.

“ The Lord de Saimpi, being ready, sallied forth from his pavilion : they ran at each other with great force, met full, and Lord Clifford broke his lance into three pieces against the target of his adversary. In return, the Lord de Saimpi struck off his helmet, and both continued their career to their places. The Lord Clifford tilted no more that day, for the spectators said he had honourably and valorously borne himself.

“ Sir Henry Beaumont then came forward, and sent to have the target of Sir Boucicaut touched, who was instantly ready to reply to the call, having not dismounted from the tilts with Lord Clifford. The Lord Beaumont did not manage his lance well, and hit Boucicaut on the side ; but Sir Boucicaut struck him so full on the middle of his shield, that he drove him to the ground, and continued his course. Lord Beaumont was raised up by his attendants, and remounted. The Lord de Saimpi then presented himself, and they tilted two courses very handsomely, without hurt to either.

“ Sir Peter Courteney, who was anxious to engage to run six lances, sent a squire to touch with a rod the three shields of war. This caused a good deal of surprise, and he was asked what were his intentions by so doing. He replied, that he wished to tilt with each of the French knights two lances, if no misfortune befel him, and he entreated they would comply with his request. They were ready to consent to it, and Sir Reginald de Roye first offered himself. Having made themselves ready, they spurred their horses, and took good aim not to miss their stroke; but, from the restiveness of their horses, they failed. They were much vexed, and returned to their places. On the second course, they met full gallop; and Sir Reginald de Roye, having unhelmed his adversary, returned gently towards his pavilion, his two courses being completed. Sir Peter Courteney being armed once more, the Lord de Saimpi advanced, and their lances were broken at the first shock: they continued their course, when new lances were given them. They advanced towards

each other furiously, and the Lord de Sainpi hit Sir Peter, whose horse swerved a little; but Sir Peter struck off his helmet, and rode on at a gentle pace to his post.

“ Sir Boucicaut now came to complete the two other courses; and at their onset they struck each on the shield so rudely, that the two horses were suddenly checked in their career: no other damage ensued. At the second course they were both unhelmed. When these six tilts were done, Sir Peter requested, as a favour, to run one more with any of the three knights who pleased; but it was refused, and he was told that he had done enough that day.

“ An English knight, called Sir John Gouloufre, came forth, armed from head to foot, and sent his squire to touch the war-shield of Sir Reginald de Roye. The knight obeyed the summons, and both advanced full gallop. They hit each other's helmets, but were neither unhelmed, nor had their lances broken. Their horses refused to run the second course, to their great vexation. At the third tilt they struck their shields, and broke their

lances. They were supplied with others; and, from the swerving of their horses, passed their fourth career without striking a blow. The fifth lance was too well employed, for they were both unhelmed, and then each rode to his own party.

“Sir John Rousseau, an expert and valiant knight from England, but well known for his prowess in various countries, ordered his squire to touch the shield of the Lord de Saimpi, who was already armed and mounted. On receiving his lance, he spurred his horse against the English knight, and the shock of their spears against the targets instantly forced them to stop. Each returned to his post, and it was not long before they commenced their second course with equal vigour; but when near, their horses swerved, which prevented their stroke. To their sorrow, they were thus obliged to return again to the end of the lists. They were more successful the third course; for they struck each other with such force, that the vizors of their helmets were broken off: the knights continued their

career, and the Englishman tilted no more that day.

“Sir Peter Shirborne, a young knight, but of good courage, sent his squire to touch the war-shield of Sir Boucicaut. The knight was ready to answer him, for he was armed, and on horseback, leaning on his spear, to wait for an adventure. Perceiving himself called upon, he raised his spear, and looked to see what his adversary was about, and observing that he was handling his horse, did the same. When they began their course, they couched their spears, thinking to make sure blows; but they were disappointed, to their great vexation, by the swerving of their horses, which forced them to return to their posts. They determined to manage them better at their second tilt, and spurred them both so vigorously, they each struck the other on the vizor. Sir Boucicaut broke his lance, but not so the English knight; for he employed it with so much force, that he not only unhelmed, but made the blood spout from his nose as he bore off the helmet of Sir Boucicaut, who then retired to his pavi-

lion : he tilted no more that day, for it was now nearly vespers. Sir Peter Shirborne, however, would not desist until he had completed his number of lances : he, in consequence, sent his squire to touch the war-target of the Lord de Saimpi, who was prepared to meet him. The two knights spurred on violently against each other, and hit on the top of their helmets ; but the lances slipt over, and they passed each other without hurt. The spectators said, had their spears been pointed lower, and the shields received their blows, one or both must have suffered severely from the shock. The next course they struck full on the targets, and broke their lances into three parts ; but the blow of the Lord de Saimpi was so strong, that the English knight lost his seat and fell to the ground, from whence, however, he instantly arose, and was led by his attendants from the lists.

“ The Lord de Saimpi returned to his post, viewing the state of his adversary, and shewing his willingness to renew the tilt with him he had overthrown, or with any other ; but

none came forward, as it was now time to leave off for this day, and return to their hotels. The English, and such as had accompanied them, set off full gallop for Calais, where they remained that night enjoying themselves, and talking over the feats of arms that had been performed.

“ The French retired to Saint Inglevere; and, if the English talked much of what had been done, you may readily suppose the French were not silent.

“ On Tuesday, after mass and drinking a cup, all those who intended to tilt, and those who wished to see them, left Calais, and rode in an orderly manner to where the lists had been held the preceding day. The French were already there, as was right, and prepared to receive them. The day was bright, clear, and sufficiently warm. The English drew up on one side, and armed those who were to tilt.

Sir William Clifton, a very valiant and expert knight, was the first who sent his squire to touch the shield of Sir Boucicaut: the knight instantly came forth, armed completely for the tournament, mounted his horse, and

grasped his lance. The two knights met full gallop, hitting each on the target, but passed on without any thing more. The second course was very handsome : they met, and hit each on the helmet, the lances crossing. The third course they struck again their shields, and with such violence, that the horses were stopped. The fourth course with lances was gallantly performed, for they hit each other so strongly on the vizors of their helmets, they were driven off by the blow to different sides. The English knight tilted no more that day, for he was told he had done enough.

“ After this, Sir Nicholas Clinton, a young English knight, sent to touch the target of the Lord de Saimpi, who immediately appeared, ready armed and mounted. The two knights spurred their horses, bearing their spears in good array: when near, they struck their opponent's target with such violence, that the steel remained fixed; and it is wonderful no other harm ensued, for they both were young, of good courage, and did not spare themselves. They neither fell nor were wounded,

but their lances were shivered to pieces. They then passed on each to his post. The second course was well tilted : they struck each on the helmet, but as it was on the top they did no damage, and passed on. At the third course with lances the horses swerved to their sorrow ; and at the fourth, the Lord de Saimpi unhelmed the English knight ; who returned to his countrymen, and tilted no more, for they assured him he had behaved most valiantly, and that he must allow others to have their share.

“ When Sir Nicholas Clinton was returned from the lists, a gallant knight of England, nearly related to the Earl of Huntingdon, called William Stamart, left his tent, and sent to touch the target of Sir Reginald de Roye, who appeared to meet him. Each having taken his post, they vigorously spurred their horses, and gave such blows on their shields, that it was surprising they were not unhorsed ; but both kept their seats, as they rode well. They passed on to their places ; but the English knight let fall his lance, and Sir Reginald bore his in handsome array.

“ The English knight having had his lance given to him, he placed it in his rest, and, spurring his horse, intended to have done wonders. . Indeed, the blow would have been good, if it had been straight, but by the swerving of his horse, it was very weak ; and I doubt if it were not, in some measure, the fault of the knight. Sir Reginald struck him such a blow on the shield, as made him bend backward ; but they passed on without further hurt. . Being prepared for the third course, they again spurred their horses, and couched their lances, and hit each other as rudely on the helmets, that the fire sparkled from them. They passed on, but from this blow their lances fell to the ground : persons were at hand to pick them up, and give them to the knights. Having replaced the lances in their rests, they renewed the tilt, and aiming well, struck each other on the vizors of their helmets so severely, that Sir William Stamart was unhelmed, and nearly thrown to the ground ; but, though he staggered, he kept his seat. The English knight then went to his countrymen, and did nothing more that day.

“ A squire called Lancaster now stepped forth, and sent to touch the shield of Sir Boucicaut. He was ready mounted to answer the call : and having grasped his spear, they met most courageously : they struck their helmets, so as to make the fire fly from them, and it was astonishing they kept them on their heads. No harm being done, each returned to his post ; where they made no long stay, before they began their second course with great vigour, each hitting on his opponent's target : the horses swerved, which prevented this from being a handsome or effectual tilt, but this they could not help. At the third lance they met ; and the blow was so well placed, that the Englishman was unhelmed, and passed on to his post bare-headed all but the scull-cap, and would not that day tilt more.

“ A young knight, whose name was Sir John Tallboys, next made his appearance, completely armed, and sent to touch the war-target of the Lord de Saimpi. That knight was ready for the tilt, and, having grasped his spear, stuck spurs into his horse :

their first onset was so rough, their lances were shivered. The two knights passed each other without other damage, and were not long before they began their second course, having received new lances, of which there was a provision ready, all of the same length. From the fault of their horses, though they aimed well, they missed hitting; but the third course was well performed, for they unhelmed each other, and then each retired to his own party, and the English knight did nothing more that day.

“ Sir Godfrey de Seca next presented himself: he was a gallant knight, and shewed, by his manner of riding and bearing his lance, that he was an able tilter, desirous of renown. He sent his squire to touch the war-target of Sir Reginald de Roze. That knight came forward instantly, as he was ready mounted, and, placing himself properly for the tilt, they both set off full gallop, and gave such blows on their targets, that though their spears from their strength did not break, they remained fastened to the shields, and, by dint of hard pushing, the

horses were checked : each knight returned to his post without losing his lance, but bearing it handsomely before him. Having placed them in their rests, they again spurred their horses, which were strong and active, but by their swerving they missed their stroke and dropped their spears. Those near picked them up and returned them, and again they renewed the tilt ; for they were heated, and seemed unwilling to spare each other.

“ The English knight hit Sir Reginald a very severe blow on the top of his helmet, without otherwise damaging him ; but Sir Reginald gave him so strong a thrust on the target, (for at that time he was counted one of the stoutest tilters in France, and was smitten with love for a young lady, that made all his affairs prosper,) it pierced through it as well as his left arm : the spear broke as it entered, the butt end falling to the ground, the other sticking in the shield, and the steel in the arm. The knight, however, did not for this fail to finish his course gallantly ; but his companions came to him, and the broken spear and steel were extracted, the blood

stanchied, and the arm tied up. Sir Reginald returned to his friends, and there remained, leaning on another lance that had been given him. Sir Reginald was much praised by the French and English for this tilt ; and no one said any thing improper against him, on account of the Englishman being wounded, for such are the events of arms : to one they are fortunate, to another the reverse ; and, to say the truth, they did not spare each other.

“ An English squire, called Blaquet, then sent to strike the war-shield of the Lord de Saimpi. When they were both ready, they spurred their horses, and hit on the helmet, hard blows, though the points of their spears slipped off: on finishing their career they lost their lances. When they were restored to them, they began their second course, but, by the fault of their horses, nothing was done. At the third onset, Blaquet gave the Lord de Saimpi a hard blow on the helmet, but was struck by him much harder on the vizor, and unhelmed, with a force that broke the buckle which fastened it behind, and it fell on the

ground. They finished their course, and the English squire went among his countrymen, not intending to tilt more that day. The Lord de Saimpi remained gallantly on horseback, leaning on his spear, to wait until he should be again called upon.

“ Sir John Bolcas, a gallant knight from England, shortly after this tilt was over, sent his squire to touch the shield of the Lord de Saimpi, who, being prepared, entered the lists, his target on his neck, and spear in hand. Each hit his adversary’s shield, and it was surprising they were not pierced, for their lances were strong, and their heads well tempered ; but they passed without further loss than of their spears, which fell to the ground. When they were picked up and given them, they again spurred their horses, and struck the helmets, but without effect, and continued their career. At the third course, their horses crossed. The Lord de Saimpi, at the fourth, unhelmed Sir John Bolcas by a hard blow, and then the two knights returned to their friends.

“ Thomelin Messidon, a young English

knight, well and richly armed, with a great desire to gain honour, sent to touch the shield of Sir Boucicaut. The knight instantly came forth, and, having grasped his lance, both spurred their horses; and each made his stroke by crossing under the helmet: they passed on without hurt or blame, but were not long before they spurred again. In this course they hit very roughly on the targets; Thomelin Messidon shivered his lance; but Sir Boucicaut's blow was so severe, it drove his opponent over the crupper of his horse to the ground. Those of his party ran to raise him up, and carried him off, for he tilted no more that day.

“ Another squire of England, called Navarton, instantly stepped forth, and sent to touch the war-shield of Sir Boucicaut, saying, he would revenge his companion, whom he had struck to the ground in his presence. Boucicaut was ready to answer him, being armed and mounted, and leaning on his spear. They met full gallop, and hit each other on the vizors of their helmets, but passed on without other damage. Having had their helmets

re-adjusted, and their lances given them, they again met with great violence, and from the shock of the blows on their targets the horses were stopped, and the lances broken into three pieces, but they completed their course without any hurt. They had new spears given them ; and at the third course Sir Boucicaut was hit hard on the target, but he gave Narvarton a blow that unhelmed him : he then withdrew to his countrymen, and tilted no more that day ; for they said he had done sufficient, and had gained great applause.

“ After this, another squire advanced, called Sequaqueton, an able man at arms, and expert tilter. He sent to touch the shield of Sir Reginald de Roye, who replied, that he was prepared and mounted. They spurred their horses, and gave violent strokes on their targets, without sparing each other. Sequaqueton bore himself handsomely without falling, to the surprise of the spectators, for Sir Reginald’s blow made him bend backward almost on the crupper of his horse ; but he raised himself, and gallantly finished his career with the loss only of his lance. Having received

another, they ran the second tilt with great courage, and struck such blows on their helmets as made the fire fly from them. It was a handsome course, and no damage done. They repaired to their posts, and spurred again for the third time. In this tilt, Sequaqueton was severely unhelmed, and on the point of falling, both himself and horse, for he staggered considerably. The squire, when on his feet, returned to his companions, and tilted no more : indeed, there was an end to the whole for the day, as it was now late. The English collected together, and returned to Calais, as did the French to Saint Inglevere.

“ You must know, though I have not before made mention of it, that King Charles of France was present at these justs. Being young, and desirous of witnessing extraordinary sights, he would have been much vexed, if he had not seen these tournaments. He was therefore present at the early part and latter end of them, attended only by the Lord de Gariencieres ; but both so disguised that nobody knew of it ; and they returned every evening to Marquise.”

The extract which follows is a slighter sketch of a grand tournament holden at London, "in honour of Isabella, the Queen of Richard the Second; at which sixty knights were to be accompanied by sixty ladies; the former to tilt for two days, that is to say, on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, and the Monday following, in the year of grace 1390.*

"The sixty knights were to set out at two o'clock in the afternoon from the Tower of London with their ladies, and parade through the streets, down Cheapside, to a large square called Smithfield. There the knights were to wait on the Sunday the arrival of any foreign knights who might be desirous of tilting; and this feast of the Sunday was called the challengers'. The same ceremonies were to take place on the Monday, and the sixty knights were to be prepared for tilting courteously with blunted lances against all comers. The prize for the best knight of the opponents was to be a rich crown of gold, that for the tenants of the lists a very rich golden clasp: they

* Froissart, v. x. 223; Col. Johnes's translation.

were to be given to the most gallant tilter, according to the judgment of the ladies, who would be present, with the Queen of England and the great barons, as spectators.

“ On the Tuesday, the tournaments were to be continued by squires, against others of the same rank who wished to oppose them. The prize for the opponents was a courser saddled and bridled, and for the tenants of the lists a falcon. The manner of holding this feast being settled, heralds were sent to proclaim it throughout England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders, and France. It was ordered by the council to what parts each herald was to go; and, having time before hand, they published it in most countries.

“ Many knights and squires from foreign lands made preparations to attend it: some to see the manners of the English, others to take part in the tournaments. On the feast being made known in Hainault, Sir William de Hainault, Count d'Ostrevant, who was at that time young and gallant, and fond of tilting, determined, in his own mind, to be present, and to honour and make acquaintance with

his cousin King Richard, and his uncles, whom he had never seen. He therefore engaged many knights and squires to accompany him; in particular the Lord de Gomegines, because he was well known in England, having lived there some time. Sir William resolved, while his preparations were making, to visit his father the Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, to speak with him on the subject, and to take leave of him before he went to England. He therefore set out from Quesnoy in Hainault, and continued his journey to the Hague, a good town in Holland, where his father then resided.

“ The Count d'Ostrevant took leave of his father; and, on his departure from the Hague, returned to his lady at Quesnoy. Many noble knights were busy in preparations for this feast that had been so pompously proclaimed.

“ The Count Waleran de St. Pol, who had married the half-sister to King Richard, assembled a handsome body of knights and squires, and with them made for Calais, where passage vessels were waiting to convey to Dover the lords and knights going to this

tournament. From Dover they continued their journey to London, where their servants had previously secured their lodgings.

“ The Count d’Ostrevant set out from Hainault with a numerous attendance of knights and squires, and travelled through Artois to Calais, where he met the Count de St. Pol. When the wind was favourable, and their attendants embarked, they crossed the Channel ; but it was told me, and I believe it, that the Count de St. Pol arrived first at London, where he found the King, and his brother-in-law Sir John Holland, who, with many other nobles, made him a hearty welcome, and enquired the news in France,

“ The Count de Ostrevant, having crossed the sea, stopped at Canterbury, and on the Friday morning, without breaking his fast, paid his devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, making at the same time a very rich offering at that altar.

“ He remained that whole day at Canterbury, and on the following day went to Rochester. On account of his numerous train, he travelled but a short day’s journey,

to spare his horses that carried the baggage. After mass, he left Rochester, and dined at Dartford, whence he continued his journey to London; for it was on this Sunday the tournaments were to begin.

“ This Sunday, according to proclamation, being the next to Michaelmas day, was the beginning of the tiltings, and called the feast of the challengers’. About three o’clock, there paraded out from the Tower of London, which is situated in the square of St. Catherine, on the banks of the Thames, sixty barded coursers ornamented for the tournament, on each was mounted a squire of honour, that advanced only at a foot’s pace; then came sixty ladies of rank mounted on palfreys most elegantly and richly dressed, following each other, every one leading a knight with a silver chain completely armed for tilting; and in this procession they moved on through the streets of London, attended by numbers of minstrels and trumpets, to Smithfield. The Queen of England and her ladies and damsels were already arrived, and placed in chambers handsomely decorated.

“ The King was with the Queen. When the ladies who led the knights arrived in the square, their servants were ready to assist them to dismount from their palfreys, and to conduct them to the apartments prepared for them.

“ The knights remained until their squires of honour had dismounted, and brought them their coursers; which having mounted, they had their helmets laced on, and prepared themselves in all points for the tilt.

The Count de St. Pol with his companions now advanced, handsomely armed for the occasion, and the tournament began. Every foreign knight who pleased tilted, or had time for so doing, before the evening set in. The tiltings were well and long continued, until night forced them to break off. The lords and ladies then retired where they had made appointments. The Queen was lodged in the Bishop of London's palace, near St. Paul's church, where the banquet was held.

“ Towards evening, the Count d'Ostrevant arrived, and was kindly received by King Richard and his lords. The prize for the opponents was adjudged to the Count de St.

Pol, as the best knight at this tournament, and that for the tenants to the Earl of Huntingdon.

“ The dancings were at the Queen’s residence, in the presence of the King, his uncles, and the barons of England. The ladies and damsels continued their amusements, before and after supper, until it was time to retire, when all went to their lodgings, except such as were attached to the King and Queen, who, during the tournament, lived at the palace of the Bishop of London.

“ You would have seen on the ensuing morning, Monday, squires and varlets busily employed, in different parts of London, furnishing and making ready armour and horses for their masters, who were to engage in the justs. In the afternoon King Richard entered Smithfield magnificently accompanied by dukes, lords, and knights, for he was chief of the tenants of the lists. The Queen took her station, as on the preceding day, with her ladies, in the apartments that had been prepared for her. The Count d’Ostrevant came next, with a large company of knights and

squires fully armed for tilting ; then the Count de Saint Pol, and the knights from France.

“ The tournament now began, and every one exerted himself to the utmost to excel : many were unhorsed, and more lost their helmets. The justing continued with great courage and perseverance, until night put an end to it. The company now retired to their lodgings or their homes ; and when the hour for supper was near, the lords and ladies attended it, which was splendid and well served. The prize for the opponents at the tournament was adjudged by the ladies, lords, and heralds, to the Count d'Ostrevant, who far eclipsed all who had tilted that day : that for the tenants was given to a gallant knight of England, called Sir Hugh Spencer.

“ On the morrow, Tuesday, the tournament was renewed by the squires, who tilted, in the presence of the King, Queen, and all the nobles, until night, when all retired as on the preceding day. The supper was as magnificent as before at the palace of the bishop, where the King and Queen lodged ; and the

dancing lasted untill day-break, when the company broke up.

“ The tournament was continued on the Wednesday, by all knights and squires indiscriminately, who were inclined to just: it lasted until night, and the supper and dances were as the preceding day.

“ On Thursday, the king entertained at supper all the foreign knights and squires, and the queen their ladies and damsels. The Duke of Lancaster gave a grand dinner to them on the Friday. On Saturday, the King and his court left London for Windsor, whither the Count d’Ostrevant, the Count de Saint Pol, and the foreign knights who had been present at the feasts, were invited. All accepted the invitation, as was right, and went to Windsor, which has a handsome castle, well built and richly ornamented, situated on the Thames, twenty miles from London.”

The rules which regulated these magnificent meetings were so judicious and precise; the ceremonies preceding and accompanying them, of so solemn a cast; the arrangements and accoutrements so gorgeous; the ex-

exercises so spirited ; and the interest excited in the spectators so intense, that we cannot conceive any thing in the form of a public exhibition, more imposing in appearance and effect, than the ancient tournament must have been : and when to this we add the popularity in which it maintained itself, in the most civilized countries in Europe for the space of three centuries ; and the influence it exerted on the national character of their population, during that period ; on their manners, opinions, prose literature, and poetical composition ; we shall not be surprised to find, that it has formed a subject of reflection to the philosopher ; of disquisition, to the moralist ; of enquiry, to the historian ; and of adornment, to the poet.*

The whole structure of the tournament, indeed, was august and interesting : its preparation, ceremonial, and conclusion.†

* Sainte Palaye. Le Gendre. Le P. Menistrier. Honoré de St. Marie. Spenser. Milton, Hole, &c.

† There cannot be a doubt, that the institutions of chivalry (of which tournaments were a splendid branch) had a powerful influence in civilizing the manners, and softening the character, of the European nations ; and train-

Previously to its celebration, messengers were dispatched by the monarch or noble who was about to hold it, to all the neighbouring courts in Europe, announcing his intention; ing them to that courtesy and urbanity which they may fairly boast over all the rest of mankind. The oaths of the knights involved the obligation of protecting the fair, succouring the oppressed, and redressing the injured; and had consequently a tendency to teach them the sanctions of justice, to inspire them with the feelings of humanity, and more especially, to regard with admiration, and to treat with respect, that gentle and affectionate sex, which was created to soften the ruggedness, to soothe the violence, and to impart the best blessings of life, to the rougher one. For that regard for the fair sex, however, which so intimately connected their interest, with the institutions of chivalry, the world is indebted to the northern nations; for with them originated the principles of *gallantry*. The most refined people of ancient times, for the most part, considered females as greatly beneath them, in dignity of nature, and stature of mind; as unworthy to mix in equal intercourse; and qualified only for the inferior and menial concerns of domestic economy. On the other hand, among the fierce people of the north, the female character was respected and admired. In all matters of importance, and on all points of difficulty, the opinion of the women was consulted, and for the most part followed. An oracular spirit was supposed to reside in them. They headed embassies; they led armies to the field, and, by their exhortations and example, stimulated the combatants to victory or death. The causes which produced this difference in the treatment of women, by the southern and northern nations, is ably investigated by M. Mallet, in his *Northern Antiquities*.

and inviting all foreign knights to honour with their presence the approaching solemnity. The animating news was received with rapture ; and crowds of the young, the gallant, and the gay, emulous of military glory, or panting for the praise of the fair, hurried to the appointed place of rendezvous ; glittering in splendid arms, and accompanied by their faithful squires. Thither, also, flocked troops of high-born and beautiful ladies ; each hoping for the honour of crowning the victor ; and all anxious to behold the skill and prowess of their favourite knights.

“ Judges were chosen from among the
 “ most noble and honourable knights, who
 “ were invested with authority to regulate
 “ all preliminaries and determine all disputes.
 “ Some days before the beginning of the tournament, all the knights who proposed to
 “ enter the lists hung up their shields in the
 “ cloister of a neighbouring monastery, where
 “ they were viewed by the ladies and knights.
 “ If a lady touched one of the shields, it was
 “ considered as an accusation of its owner, who
 “ was immediately brought before the judges

“ of the tournament, tried with great solen-
 “ nity, and if found guilty of having defamed
 “ a lady, or of having done any thing unbecom-
 “ ing the character of a true and courteous
 “ knight, he was degraded, and expelled
 “ the assembly with every mark of infamy.
 “ The lists were effectually secured from the
 “ intrusion of the spectators, and surrounded
 “ with lofty towers and scaffolds of wood, in
 “ which the princes and princesses, ladies,
 “ lords, and knights, with the judges, marshals,
 “ heralds, and minstrels, were seated in
 “ their proper places, in their richest dresses.
 “ The combatants, nobly mounted, and completely
 “ armed, were conducted into the lists
 “ by their respective mistresses, in whose
 “ honour they were to fight, with bands of
 “ martial music, amidst the acclamations of
 “ the numerous spectators. It would be
 “ tedious to describe all the different kinds of
 “ combats that were performed at a royal
 “ tournament, which continued several days.
 “ It is sufficient to take notice, that representations
 “ were exhibited of all the different
 “ parts of actual war, from a single combat to

“ a general action, with all the different kinds
 “ of arms, as spears, swords, battle-axes, and
 “ daggers. At the conclusion of every day’s
 “ tournament, the judges declared the victors,
 “ and distributed the prizes, which were pre-
 “ sented to the happy knights by the greatest
 “ and most beautiful ladies in the assembly.
 “ The victors were then conducted in triumph
 “ to the palace ; their armour was taken off
 “ by the ladies of the court ; they were dressed
 “ in the richest robes, seated at the table of
 “ their sovereign, and treated with every pos-
 “ sible mark of distinction. Besides all this,
 “ their exploits were inserted in a register, and
 “ celebrated by the poets and minstrels who
 “ attended these solemnities. In a word,
 “ the victors became the favourites of the fair,
 “ and the objects of universal admiration.”

With these attractions the tournament long
 preserved its hold on the taste of the English
 nation ; an influence, however, which was
 weakened in process of time, by many causes
 operating both within and without the realm ;
 so that, after reflecting its last rays of splen-
 dor on the reign and court of the “ maiden

“queen,” this gorgeous ceremony finally disappeared before the time of Charles the First.

COOKERY, FEASTING, CLERICAL LUXURY, MINSTRELS.—It would seem to be no bad definition of man, to describe him as “a cooking animal,” the only inhabitant of earth, endowed with the faculty of rendering his food more palatable and digestible than it would otherwise be, by the assistance and use of the *condiment*. It is true, indeed, that when (while in a savage state) he is placed in situations where a great scarcity of provision produces the extremity of hunger, the article which is to satisfy his craving is generally devoured without preparation; and even bark of trees, (as in Lapland,) and the species of earth called *steatite*, (as in Easter Island,) is greedily swallowed, to soothe the yearnings of an empty stomach; but the faculty of *cooking* his food is still a part of his nature, though

circumstances may have prevented it from being exercised; and no sooner does he enjoy any approach to plenty or leisure, than we find him improving the natural aliment by some artificial modifications. These will be either more simple or more complicated, according to the degree to which he has advanced in civilization. The humbler attempts at the luxury of the table will mark the period of comparative rudeness; increased civilization will shew itself in more compounded viands, and a greater variety of them; and high refinement will introduce, with every other gratification of the taste, all the tricks of modern epicurism. The history of the culinary art in our own country has exemplified these progressive steps towards its present excellence. The early Britons (though perhaps they cannot be acquitted of *cannibalism* amid their superstitious ceremonies*) do not appear, however simple in their diet, to have been eaters of uncooked viands.† The Romans were exquisite epicures, when they settled

* Plin. lib. xxx. c. 1. Lucan Phars. lib. iiii.

† Diod. Sic. lib. v. c. 11. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. v. 10.

themselves among them, and soon taught the conquered people their arts as well as their vices; so that before the end of the first century the mode of living among the natives of Britain had become nearly as luxurious as that of their masters.* This season of enervating ease and indulgence continued till

Rome a giant statue fell,
When time his northern sons of spoil awoke,
And all the blended work of strength and grace,
With many a rude repeated stroke,
And many a barb'rous yell, to thousand fragments broke.
Collins.

Deserted by their original conquerors, who had long been converted into their necessary protectors, the unhappy Britons were overpowered by the fierce and warlike Saxons; a foe that speedily destroyed all the monuments of art, and obliterated all the modes of refinement, in the subjugated country. The elegancies of the table were involved in the general wreck; and the art of cookery instantly retraced its steps into almost primæval simplicity. A rude and roving people, whose delight was battle, and serious occupation plunder, were not likely to

* Tacit. Vit. Agric.

be far advanced in the mysteries of epicurism; and though, like other barbarous tribes, they placed a part of their happiness in sensual indulgence, yet the *quantity* rather than the *quality* of their food seems to have been the object to which they attended; in other words, they preferred a full dish to a nice one.*

After the Saxons, however, had securely settled themselves in their new conquests, a gradual improvement in their manners took place; and the arts of social life were more cultivated and better understood. Cookery, among the rest, had more attention bestowed on it than heretofore. Among the delineations on ancient manuscripts, which Mr. Strutt has taken the pains to publish, and explain, in his *Horda Angel Cynnan*, we find that which is engraven in the frontispiece, representing an Anglo-Saxon meal. The number of personages in this remarkable sketch are five. Three appear to be sitting at a table, while the two others are serving them on their knees. The banquet consists of a large fish,

* Rous. Ant. Warwick. apud Hearn. Itin. vol. vi. page 106.

on a kind of platter in the middle, and two deep dishes, probably filled with boiled meat, and broth on each side. The attendants seem to hold spits in their hands, transfixing joints of meat, from which one of the figures is employed in cutting a piece. The table has most of the conveniences appertaining to it in modern times; such as a cloth, plates, dishes, knives, &c. *Forks*, we know, were not in use till ages afterwards;* accordingly

* “ Here I will mention a thing that might have been
 “ spoken of before, in discourse of the first Italian town.
 “ I observed a custome in all those Italian cities and
 “ townes through which I passed, that is not used in any
 “ other country that I saw in my travels, neither do I thinke
 “ that any other nation of Christendome doth use it, but
 “ only Italy. The Italian, and also most strangers that
 “ are commorant in Italy, doe alwaies at their meales
 “ use a little *forke*, when they cut their meate. For
 “ while with their knife, which they hold in one hande,
 “ they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten their
 “ forke, which they hold in their other hande, upon the
 “ same dish; so that whatsoever he be that, sitting in
 “ the company of any others at meale, should unadvi-
 “ sedly touch the dish of meate with his fingers, from
 “ which all at the table doe cut, he will give occasion
 “ of offence unto the company, as having transgressed the
 “ lawes of good manners, insomuch that for his error he
 “ shall be at least brow-beaten, if not reprehended in
 “ wordes. This forme of feeding, I understand, is gene-
 “ rally used in all places of Italy; their forkes being for

one of the personages has a fish in his left hand, and a knife in his right, with which he is about to divide it ; while the third, who sits in the middle, and has a goblet in his hand, appears to be pledging the personage at his left side.*

“ the most part made of yron or steele, and some of
“ silver, but those are used only by gentlemen. The
“ reason of this their curiosity is, because the Italian
“ cannot by any meanes indure to have his dish touched
“ with fingers, seeing all men’s fingers are not alike
“ cleane. Hereupon I myself thought good to imitate
“ the Italian fashon by this forked cutting of meate,
“ not onlie while I was in Italy, but also in Germany,
“ and oftentimes in England since I came home : being
“ once quipped for that frequent using of my forke, by a
“ certain learned gentleman, a familiar friend of mine,
“ one M. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry humour
“ doubted not to call me at table *Furcifer*, only for using
“ a forke at feeding, but for no other cause.”†

* The old method in which one guest pledged another was thus: the person about to drink asked him who sat next, whether he would pledge him; the other answered he would, and held up his knife or dagger to guard him during his draught. Writers differ as to the cause of this curious custom; though, perhaps, if we recollect that the ancient Saxons were a very impetuous people, much addicted to drunkenness, and always girt with their offensive weapons at their festal meetings, we may imagine this precaution arose from the manners of the times, rather

† Coryat’s Crudities, vol. I. page 106, edit. 1776, 8vo.

The dominion of the Danes in this country, a people greatly addicted to sensuality, if it did not introduce, at least increased, the excesses in eating and drinking: their very religion, in a degree, sanctified this passion for carousal.* To pass a glorious immortality of feasting and intoxication in the hall of Odin, begirt with heroes, and attended by beautiful virgins, was the promise and hope that animated the Dane to such acts of hardiness, as raise astonishment, and stagger belief; and inspired that contempt of torture and death, which formed so striking a feature in the Scandinavian character.† Regardless alike than from any particular instance of treacherous assassination. For the plate in question, see Strutt's *Horda Angel Cynnan*, vol. i. plate xvi. fig. 1.

* Vide Bartholinus, lib. ii. c. ii. p. 542. The pernicious example of Danish excess was so quickly and notoriously followed by the Anglo-Saxons, that it was found necessary to restrain it by law. Vide Lambarde's *Archaionom.* King Edgar, by the advice of Dunstan, would not permit more than one alehouse in a village; he also ordained, that all drinking vessels should be marked with pegs at certain distances, and that the person drinking beyond one of these marks at a draught should be severely punished. Strutt's *View*, &c. 49.

† Vide Bartholinus de *Caus. Contemp. Mor. in Dan.* and Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. The following

whether he conquered or died, the Dane rushed to battle, with a fury scarcely to be withstood; in the confident assurance, that if he fell by the hand of his enemy, he should speedily have the happiness of quaffing methlegin from his skull, in the spacious apartments of Valhalla.*

Hardeknout, the last Dane who swayed the sceptre of England, was greatly addicted to feasting, but equally famous for his bounty and hospitality. Four times during the day his tables were covered; at which all were welcome guests, whether invited or not. He fell a sacrifice, however, at last to his excesses. Being present at the celebration of a marriage at Lambeth, he drank so copious a draught of wine, while standing, without taking the

is a remarkable instance of it. Asbiorn Pruda, a Danish champion, described his past life in nine strophes, while his enemy Bruce was tearing out his bowels. *Antiquit. Danic. lib. i. c. 10, p. 158, edit. 1689.* But above all see the sublime *Epicdion* of Regner Lodbrog, preserved in Keysler's *Antiquitat. Sel. Septentri*, page 127.

* Vide Bartholin. *ut supra*, and Mallet's *North. Ant.* vol. i. Valhalla was the palace of Odin.

goblet from his mouth, that a fit seized him, which, in a few days, terminated his existence.*

When the Normans invaded this kingdom, refinement had already made some progress among them. The neighbouring kingdoms were conscious that the superiority which the

* Chron. Johan. Brompton. 934. Simon Dunelm. 179. Knyghton, 2326 et 2329. Apud Twisdeni Scriptores. The compiler of the "*Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliæ*," or the Black Book of the Household of King Edward IV. in his introduction, gives us the following account of Hardeknout. "*Domus Hardeknoute may be called a "fader noreshoure of familiaritie, which used for his own table, never to be served with any like metes of one meale in another, and that chaunge and diversitie was dayly in great abundance, and that same after to be ministred to his almes-dishe, he caused cunying cooks in curiositie; also, he was the furst that began four meales stablyshed in oon day, opynly to be holden for worshupfull and honest peopull resorting to his courte; and no more melis, nor brekefast, nor chambyr, but for his children in householde; for which four melys he ordeyned four marshalls, to kepe the honor of his halle in receyvyng and dyrecting straungers; as well as of his householdemen in theyre sitting, and for services and ther precepts to be obeyed in. And for the halle, with all diligence of officers thereto assigned from his furst inception tyll the day of his dethe, his house stode after one uniformitie. Thys king reigned but two yeres, except ten dayis, he deyid drinking at Lambithe."* Vide a Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, &c. p. 18, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790;

descendants of Rollo boasted over other countries, in point of civilization and politeness, was not undeservedly claimed ; and an education at the Norman Court had been for some years deemed necessary to form the manners of the young Anglo-Saxon nobility.* From hence we may infer, that the culinary art was not neglected by a people so far advanced beyond their neighbours in other respects. Indeed we are told by an historian, that the difference observable between the Saxon and Norman modes of living was exceedingly striking ; the former, says our author, delighted in the abundance of their food, and the latter in the delicacy of it.†

* Vide Ingulph. Gale's Scriptores, and Malmesbury de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. iii. c. 58.

† His diebus Anglici, parvis, basis, et abjectis domibus utebantur, cum victualium abundantia. E contrario Franci et Normanni amplis et superbis edificiis, modicas agebant expensas, sed in cibariis delicati. *Ross Warw.* p. 106. Their superior skill in cookery has always been the boast of our Gallican neighbours ; and if they *beat us in nothing else*, we are well content to admit (with the philosopher, when he was conquered in his argument with the barber about clipping his beard) that they are *Cæsar*, and we are *nullus*. Not that we should be inclined to exchange our viands with them, to be remunerated by all their skill.

William the Conqueror himself was not averse to the indulgences of the table. Three "stately feasts" were celebrated by him every year, at particular cities: Christmas-day, at Gloucester; Easter-day, at Winchester; and Whitsunday, at Westminster. To these entertainments a general summons was sent to all persons of distinction; the legates of foreign princes were also invited, and every delicacy was provided. It was during such hours of genial enjoyment, that the stern soul of William seems to have relaxed into unusual affability and good humour; and the petitioner who preferred his request at this favourable season, was seldom dismissed without marks of royal favour.*

Who would relinquish the *wing* of a fat *capon* for the *thigh* of a *lean frog*: or, where is the Englishman that would part with his sirloin of beef for a joint of *salted horse*? At the ratification of a treaty between the French and English forces in Scotland, in Elizabeth's reign, the commanders of the latter were entertained by Monsieur Doisell, the French general; and Hollingshed tells us, a banquet was prepared, on the occasion, "of thirtie or fortie dishes; and "not one either of *flesh or fish*; saving one of the flesh of a "*poudered horse*." *Holl.* p. 1192, b. 50.

* Matthew Par. in vit. Willelmi Conq. See also Robert Gloucester, published by Hearne, p. 376. That William's

His habits of indulgence probably induced that unwieldy corpulence, which incommoded him so much during the latter part of his life; and occasioned the taunting message sent by the French King to the Conqueror, when confined by indisposition. William answered one joke by another, but did not forget to make the jester pay severely for his witticism, when the cause of his confinement was removed.*

In William's household establishment, and in that of the other continental princes, the kitchen appears to have been an expensive article, and the officers employed about it very numerous. Du Fresne has given us a list of the inferior domestics.† The principal officer philosophy was not proof against any little disappointment of the palate is evident from the following anecdote. "When " his prime favourite William Fitz-Osborne, the steward " of his household, served him with the flesh of a crane " scarcely half roasted, he was so highly exasperated, that " he lifted up his fist, and would have struck him, had " not Eudo, appointed *dapifer* immediately after, warded " off the blow." *Mr. Pegge's Pref. to the Forme of Cury.* 1780.

* Guil. Malm. p. 112. Matt. Paris, edit. Watts. p. 9.

† Queens, Aïdeurs, Asteurs, Paiges, Souffleurs, Enfants, Saussiers de Commun, Saussier devers le Roy, Sommiers, Poullier, Hnissiers, Escuiers, un Maiynen, Clerc Saussier, Clerc de Cusino.—*Du Fresne's Glossary, tom. i. p. 1212.*

was the *magnus coquus*, or chief cook, a person of considerable account.*

It is probable that the Normans annexed the same importance to this office in England, which was connected with it in their own country; for we find in Domesday book large tracts of land, surveyed and assessed as the possessions of the *coquus* or cook. The *dapifer*, or steward of the king's household, occurs also in the same record.† Subordinate to these, a

* The *magister coquorum*, of whom we find mention made a century afterwards, was, we presume, only another name for the *magnus coquus*. If so, the office must have been a very respectable one, since it was held by the brother of Cardinal Otto, the Pope's Legate, who perished in a fray at Oxford, 1238.—*Matt. Paris*, p. 4. 69.

† To these we may add the *pincerna*, or butler, the *pan-teler*, the *waferer*, the *seller*, &c. of which offices, and the duties annexed to them, particular accounts may be found in the Household Establishment Book, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, p. 69, 70, &c. We must not omit to mention the *sewar*, an office often filled by persons of high consequence. The *Liber Niger Domus Regis* Edward IV. gives this account of his duties. "A sewar for the kynge, whiche ought to be full cunnyng, diligent, and attendaunt, he receveth the metes by sayes, and sauffly so conveyeth it, to the kinge's bourde, with sauces accordingly, and all that comyth to that bourde he setteth and dyrecteth, except the office of pantrie, and buttrie &c." The office of sewar was, as I above observed,

crowd of domestics, executing different offices, under various titles, filled the royal kitchen; and the unwieldly magnificence that characterized the household establishment of the English monarchs, from the Conquest to the end of the sixteenth century, had its origin in this sumptuous prince.*

The excesses of the table were more remarkable in William Rufus, than even in his father. We have no particular details of his feasts or carousals indeed; but Stowe tells us, that the dissoluteness of his court was beyond

esteemed of sufficient importance to be served by the highest ranks of people. The son of the Earl of Foiz (a continental prince) was his father's sewer. *Froissart, edit. Bern. vol. iii. fol. 90. a. i.* And Henry II. on the day when he made his son partner with him in the government of his kingdom, executed the same office, serving up the first dish.—*Hollingshead's Chron. p. 76, b. 10.*

* The kings of England of that (the Norman) race were exceedingly pompous, both in court and camp. In their court, they shewed their magnificence, by the stateliness of their palaces, the richness of their furniture, the splendour and number of their retinue, the plenty of their provision, and the like. The court was the centre of resort for all the barons and great men of the realm, who, being peers of the king's court, gave, as occasion required, their attendance there; and more particularly as many of them were invested with great offices of the king's court.—*Vide Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, c. 2, sect. 1.*

example. "The courtiers," says our honest annalist, "devoured the substance of the husbandmen their tenants; there the laying out of hayre, and the superfluitie of garments, was founde; the tendernesse of the body, and wrestling with women; nice going, with dissolute behaviour, was in use; there followed the court a number of effeminate persons, and great companies of ruffians, whereby the same court was not a place of Majesty, but a brothel house of unlawful things, such as ought to be abolished."*

In the thirteenth year of his reign, on his return from an excursion into Normandy, Rufus reared that spacious edifice, known by

* Stowe has given us this account of the person and character of Rufus: "He was of person a square man, red coloured, his hayre somewhat yellowe, his forehead foure square, like a windowe; his eies not one like the other, not of any great stature, though somewhat bigbellied; he was variable, inconstant, covetous, and cruel. He burdened his people with unreasonable taxes; pilld the rich, and oppressed the poore; and what he thus got, he prodigally spent in great banqueting, and sumptuous apparel; for he would neither eate, drinke, or weare any thing but that it coste unmeasurably deere." *Stowe's Annals*, p. 128. b. 30. Also *Hollingshead*, 18. b. 20.

the name of Westminster Hall, which to this day boasts a superiority, with respect to size; over every other room in Europe of a similar construction.* This was the theatre of royal revelry, and here Rufus held a magnificent feast on the Whitsuntide after it was completed. Vast, however, as the fabric was, it did not equal the ideas of the extravagant monarch; for it being observed to him by one of his courtiers, that the building was too large for the purposes of its construction, the king answered, "This halle is not begge enough by one half, and is but a bedchamber, in comparison of that I minde to make." Stowe adds, "a diligent searcher might yet finde out the foundation of the Hall, which he hadde purposed to build, stretching from the river Thames even to the common highway."†

* This room exceeds in dimensions any room in Europe, which is not supported by pillars; its length is two hundred and seventy feet; the breadth, seventy-four. Its height adds to its solemnity. The roof is of timber, most curiously constructed, and of a fine species of Gothic.—*Pennant's London*, p. 83.

† Vide Matthew Par. Hollingshead, and Stowe's *Annals*, 132. a. 40.

The luxury of the English, as far as it regarded the table, during the succeeding reigns, from Rufus to the end of Henry III. seems to have increased to a pitch of extreme excess; for in the thirty-fourth year of this monarch, the legislature was under the necessity of exerting its controlling power; and on common occasions, more than two dishes of meat were forbidden to be produced at one meal.* It has been the fate, however, of sumptuary laws, in general, to be attended with little effect. The period when chivalry was approaching to its zenith, could not be an auspicious one for the interdiction of revelry and profusion. The example of the monarch,

* Hollingshead. Stowe. Cook-shops were already known, and seem to have been well stored with every delicacy. "Præterea est in Londoniâ, supra ripam fluminis, inter vina in navibus et cellis vinariis venalia, publica coquina; ibi quotidie pro tempore est invenire cibaria, fercula, assa, pista, frixa, elixa, pisces, carnes, grossiores pauperibus, delicatiores divitibus, venationum, avium, avicularium. Quantalibet militum vel peregrinorum infinitas intrârit urbem, quâlibet diei vel noctis horâ, ne vel hi nimium jejulent, vel alii impransiqueant, qui se curare volunt molliter, accipenserem vel afram, avem, vel attagenem Ionicam non quærent, appositis quæ ibi inveniuntur deliciis.—*Fitz-Stephen's Descript. of London, in temp. Henry II.*

sanctioned the extravagance of the subject, and the reign of Edward I. the successor of Henry III. presents the dawn of that brilliant magnificence, which the unfortunate Richard II. carried to meridian splendour.

Gray has beautifully alluded to the dire contrast displayed between the opening and the close of this inglorious reign :

Fair laughs the morn,* and soft the zephyr blows,
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth on the prow, and pleasure at the helm,
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That hush'd in grim repose, expects his ev'ning prey.
Fill high the sparkling bowl,
The rich repast prepare;†
'Reft of a crown, he yet may share the feast,
Close by the regal chair,
Fell thirst and famine scowle
A baneful smile upon their baffled guest."‡

* The poet here alludes to the magnificence of the early part of Richard II.'s reign.

† Richard II. (as we are told by Archbishop Scroop and the confederate lords in the manifesto, by Thomas of Walsingham, and all the older writers) was starved to death. The story of his assassination by Sir Piers Exon is of much later date.

‡ Gray's Bard.

Young as Richard was, when the reigns of empire were placed in his hands, it is not a matter of surprise, that he should have been highly gratified with grand exhibitions and shewy entertainments. His coronation displayed the utmost magnificence and profusion. Hollingshead's account of it is too prolix to be inserted ; but we may quote its conclusion.

“ To shew what roial service was at this feast,
 “ it passeth our understanding to describe :
 “ but to conclude, the fare was exceeding
 “ sumptuous, and the furniture princelie in all
 “ things, that if the same should be rehearsed,
 “ the reader would perhaps doubt of the truth
 “ thereof. In the midst of the King's palace
 “ was a marble pillar raised hollow upon steps,
 “ on the top thereof was a great gilt eagle
 “ placed, under whose feet, in the chapiter of
 “ the pillar, divers kinds of wine came gush-
 “ ing forth at four several places, all the daie
 “ long ; neither was any forbidden to receive
 “ the same, were he never so poore or abject.”

The prodigality of Richard was enormous. Two thousand cooks and three hundred servants were employed in his kitchen. Ten

thousand visitors daily attended his court, and went satisfied from his table. To furnish food for this numerous company, twenty-eight oxen, three hundred sheep, an incredible number of fowls, and all kinds of game, were slaughtered every morning.*

* Let us hear the old rhyming chronicler Harding,

Truly I heard Robert Ireliff say,
Clerk of the grene cloth, that to the household
Came every day, for the most part alway,
Ten thousand folke, by his messes told
That followed the house, ay as they would,
And in the kitchen three hundred servitours,
And in eche office many occupiers."

Harding's Chron. chap. 193, fol. 194.

Hollingshead also bears testimony to his prodigal magnificence. "He kept the greatest port, and meinteined the most plentiful house, that ever any king in England did either before his time or since. For there resorted daily to his court above ten thousand persons, that had meat and drink there allowed them. In his kitchen there were three hundred servitors, and every other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were above three hundred at the least. Yeomen and groomes were clothed in silkes, &c." p. 508, a. 10.

There are few instances recorded by history of such extensive hospitality as this of King Richard. He seems to have exceeded even the magnificence of Solomon. The daily consumption of the Jewish monarch's table was, "thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore measures of meal; ten fat oxen, and twenty out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep, besides harts, and roebucks,

That our young monarch was an egregious epicure, as well as sumptuous entertainer, appears from the introduction to the "Forme of Cury," (which was compiled by the master cook of his kitchen,) wherein he is called the "best and ryallest viander of all christian kynges."*

Many of the receipts contained in this catalogue of condiments are indeed as unintelligible to a modern, as the hieroglyphics on an Egyptian pillar; but such as we do understand, are not calculated to prejudice us much in favour of the culinary art of the fourteenth century. The combination of such a variety of different articles in the formation of one dish would produce an effect very unpleasant to a palate of this day; and the quantity of "and fallow deer, and fatted fowl." 1 Kings iv. 22, 23. Mallet indeed, in his letters, mentions an Egyptian king, who went beyond our English monarch; his feasts were so abundant, as to feed fourteen thousand guests: the quintals of meat, butter, and sugar, which he daily consumed for the pastry-work alone, were so numerous as to appear incredible. Let. xii. p. 154, 155.

* This curious MS., consisting of Receipts in Cookery, for the use of Richard II.'s kitchen, was published by the late Rev. Sam. Pegge, in 1780; and is now, we believe, in the British Museum.

hot spices that were mixed in almost all of them, would now be relished only by those accustomed to the highly-seasoned dishes of the East and West Indies.

Two out of the 196 receipts are as follows:

“ No. 65. Leche Lombard, (Lombardy
“ jelly.)

“ Take rawe pork, and pulle off the skyn;
“ and pyk out the skyn sinews, and bray the
“ pork in a mortar, with ayren (eggs) rawe.
“ Do (put) thereto sugar, salt, raysons,
“ corrance (currants), dates mynced, and
“ powder of pepper, powder gylofre (of cloves),
“ and do (put) it in a bladder, and let it
“ seethe till it be done ynough: and whenn it
“ is ynough, kerf it leshe it in likenesses of a
“ peskoodde (cut it into slices of the size and
“ appearance of the pod of a pea), and take
“ gret raysons (raisins), and grynde hem
“ (them) in a mortar; drawe hem up (mix
“ them, or, rather, stew them in) with rede
“ wyne (red wine): do (put) thereto mylke
“ of almonds, colour it with sanders (sandal
“ wood) and saffron, and do thereto powder
“ of pepper, and gylofre (cloves), and boile it;

" and when it is iboiled, take powder of canel
 " (cinnamon) and gynger, and temper it up
 " with wyne, and do alle thise thyngs togyder;
 " and loke (take care) that it be renyns (thin),
 " and lat it not seeth after that it is cast togy-
 " der, and serve it forth."

" No. 63. Douce ame, (a delicious dish):
 " Take gode cowe mylke, and do (put) it
 " in a pot. Take parsley, sawge (sage), ysop
 " (hyssop), savory, and other gode herbes.
 " Hew (cut) hem and do hem in the mylke,
 " and seethe hem. Take capons half yrosted,
 " and smyte hem on pieces, and do thereto
 " pynes (kernels of nuts), and honey clarified.
 " Salt it, and color it with saffron, and serve
 " it forth.*

* *Forme of Cury*. London, Nichols, 1780, p. 35, and 36.
 It is evident from the above receipts, and all the others
 preserved in this curious "*Rolle of Cury*," that the
messes which were fashionable in the thirteenth and four-
 teenth centuries consisted chiefly of soups, potages, ra-
 gouts, hashes, and the like hotch-patches; entire joints of
 meat being never *served*, and animals, whether fish or fowl,
 being seldom brought to table, but hacked and hewed,
 and cut in pieces or *gobbets*. The *mortar* was also in great
 request, some dishes being denominated from it, as *mor-
 trews* or *morterelys*. "But then, it may be asked," says
 Mr. Pegge, "what becomes of the old *English hospitality*,"

It was about this period that the peacock* became a favourite dish at the tables of the

“ in this case,—the *Roast Beef of Old England*, so much
“ talked of? I answer, these bulky and magnificent
“ dishes must have been the product of later reigns, per-
“ haps of Queen Elizabeth’s time, since it is plain, that
“ in the days of Richard II. (and we may add for 150
“ years after his time,) our ancestors lived much after
“ the French fashion.”—Preface to the Roll of Cury,
b. xxi.

* In the thirteenth century it was sufficiently esteemed to be made the prize of the conqueror at the game of *quintain*. “ Et eodem tempore juvenes Londinenses statuto payone pro bravio, ad stadium quod *quinten* vulgariter dicitur, vires proprias et equorum cursus sunt experti.” Matt. Paris, edit. Watts, p. 744. This bird continued to be a dish in request till the end of the last century. Hellinghead has given us a curious anecdote of Pope Julius III., that disgrace to the Romish see, an egregious glutton and epicure, whose favourite dish was the peacock. “ At another time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocks upon his table, which he had not touched, ‘ Keepe,’ said he, ‘ this cold peacocks for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall have guests.’ So when supper came, and amongst other hot peacockes, he saw not this cold peacocks brought to his table, the Pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreame rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals sitting by desired him, saying, ‘ Let not your Holinesse, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight.’ Then this Julius the Pope, answering again, ‘ What,’ said he, ‘ if God was so angry for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same,

great; where it was served up with many solemnities. "Among the delicacies of this "splendid table," says Mr. Gough, "one "sees the peacock, that noble bird, the food "of lovers, and the meat of lords. Few "dishes were in higher fashion in the thirteenth century, and there was scarce any "noble or royal feast without it. They "stuffed it with spices and sweet herbs, and "covered the head with a cloth, which was "constantly wetted to preserve the crown. "They roasted it, and served it up whole, "covered after dressing with the skin and "feathers on, the comb entire, and the tail "spread. Some persons covered it with leaf "gold instead of its feathers, and put a piece "of cotton dipped in spirits into its beak, to "which they set fire as they put it on the "table. The honour of serving it up was "reserved for the ladies most distinguished "for birth, rank, or beauty; one of whom, "followed by the others, and attended by "music, brought it up in the gold or silver "why may not I, being his vicar, be angrye then for a "peacocke, sithens a peacocke is a greater matter than "an apple?" Hol. Chron. p. 1128, a. 40.

“ dish, and set it before the master of the
 “ house, or the guest most distinguished for
 “ his courtesy and valour; or after a tourna-
 “ ment, before the victorious knight, who was
 “ to display his skill in carving the favourite
 “ fowl, and take an oath of valour and enter-
 “ prize on its head.* The romance of Lan-
 “ celot, adopting the manners of the age in
 “ which it was written, represents King
 “ Arthur doing this office to the satisfaction
 “ of five hundred guests.”

Luxury found an early reception within
 the cloister. The monks in too many in-
 stances led a life of indolence and inattention;
 and as their mental resources were but few,
 and the means of sensual indulgence lay within
 their reach, we need not be surprised, if we
 find them (particularly in the darker ages)
 much addicted to carousal and good cheer.
 Their cotemporary poets have handled them
 very severely on this account; and the page of
 history sanctions, in a great measure, their
 satirical animadversions.* An imaginary reli-
 gious house is thus described:

* The luxurious manner of living of the monks, so
 early as the reign of Henry II. may be gathered from the

There is a well fair abbei, (*a fine abbey,*)
 Of white monkes and of grei (*grey*),
 There beth (*be*) boures and halles;
 All of pasteus (*pasties*) beth the walles,
 Of fries of fisse (*fish*), and a rich met (*meat*),
 The likefullist that man mai et.
 Fluren (*flour*), cakes beth the schingles (*tiles*) alle,
 Of church, cloister, bours, and halle.
 The pinnes (*pinnacles*) beth fat podinges, (*puddings*),
 Rich met (*meat*) to princes and to kinges;
 There be four wellis (*fountains*) in the abbei,
 Of tracle and halwei, (*sweet wines*),

following stories, related of those of Canterbury and Winchester, by Giraldus Cambrensis. "Their table," says he, speaking of the first, "consisted regularly of sixteen covers, or more, of the most costly dainties, dressed "with the most exquisite cookery, to provoke the appetite, and please the taste; they had an excessive abundance of wine, particularly claret, of mulberry wine, of mead, and other strong liquors; the variety of which "was so great in these repasts, that no place could be "found for ale, though the best was made in England, "and particularly in Kent." And of the prior and monks of St. Swithen and Winchester he says, "they threw "themselves prostrate at the feet of King Henry II. and "with many tears complained to him, that the bishop of "that diocese, to whom they were subject as their abbot, "had withdrawn from them three of the usual number of "their dishes. Henry enquired of them how many there "still remained, and being informed they had ten, he "said that he himself was contented with three; and imprecated a curse on the bishop, if he did not reduce "them to that number."—Vide Grose's Pref. to his Antiquities, p. 60, note (b.)

Of baume, and oke piement, (*herb waters*)—
 Yite I do yow mo to witte (*further to notice*),
 The gees (*geese*) irosted (*roasted*) on the spitte,
 Fley to that abbai, God hit wot, (*God knows*),
 And gredith (*cristis*), goes al hote, al hote, &c.*

The nunneries of that age were probably alike obnoxious to the charges of indecorum and luxurious living; for our poet goes on to observe,

Another abbai is there bi (*near*),
 For soth a gret nunnerie ;
 Up a river of sweet milk,
 Whar is plente gret of silk.
 When the summeris day is hote,
 The young nunnes taketh a bote (*bout*),
 And doth hem (*them*) forth in that river,
 Both with oris and with stere :
 When hi (*they*) beth fur from the abbai,
 Hi makith him (*them*) naked for to piei—
 The young monkes that bi seeth
 Hi doth him up, and forth hi fleeth,
 And cometh to the nunnes anon,
 And each monke him takith on (*one*), &c.†

The “Crede of Pierce Plowman” gives us this humorous and well-drawn portrait of a friar bloated with debauchery :

Then turned I agen when I hadde al ytoted (*observed*),
 And fond (*found*) in a fremonre (*friary*) a frere on a
 bench,

* Vide Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 9.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 10.

A greet chorl, and a grym, growen as a tounse,
 With a face so fat as a full bladdere,
 Blowne bretful of breth, and as a bagge honged
 On bothen his chekes, and his chyn, with a chol lollode
 So greet a gos ey, growen al of grece,
 That all wagged his flesh as a quick mire, &c.*

Chaucer, too, has sprinkled his admirable works with many satirical strokes at the vices of the regular clergy. They occur in a variety of places, but more repeatedly in his *Canterbury Tales*; and are sufficient to convince us that the cloistered monk and wandering friar were alike addicted to excess.†

That monastic luxury continued till the dissolution of the religious houses by Henry VIII. is sufficiently notorious; indeed, it was one of the chief reasons alleged by that monarch for suppressing these establishments altogether. As Henry is recorded to have been fond of wandering about in disguise, it

* Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 304.

† In the thirteenth century the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, Beverly in Yorkshire, and the Knights Hospitallers, were more notorious for their luxury than any other religious houses.—Vide an ancient French Poem among the Harleian Manuscripts. Id. vol. i. page 37.

is not improbable that he had frequently been an eye-witness of the good living of these sequestered ecclesiastics. Fuller, in his Church History, has handed down to us an instance of the kind, which may be here introduced:

“ King Henry VIII. as he was hunting in
 “ Windsor Forest, or (more probably) with-
 “ fully losing himself, struck down about
 “ dinner time to the Abbey of Reading,
 “ where disguising himself, (much for delight,
 “ more for discovery, to see unseen,) he was
 “ invited to the abbot’s table, and passed for
 “ one of the king’s guard ; a place to which
 “ the proportion of his person might properly
 “ entitle him. A sir-loyne of beef was set
 “ before him, (so knighted, saith tradition, by
 “ this King Henry,) on which the king laid
 “ on lustily, not disgracing one of that place,
 “ for whom he was mistaken. ‘ Well fare
 “ ‘ thy heart,’ quoth the abbot, ‘ and here in
 “ ‘ a cup of sack I remember the health of
 “ ‘ his grace your master. I would give an
 “ ‘ hundred pounds, on condition I could
 “ ‘ feed so heartily on beef as you do. Alas !
 “ ‘ my weak and queasie stomach will hardly

“ ‘ digest the wing of a small rabbit or chicken.’
 “ The king pleasantly pledged him, and
 “ heartily thanking him for his good cheer,
 “ after dinner departed, as undiscovered as
 “ he came thither. Some weeks after, the
 “ abbot was sent for by a pursuivant, brought
 “ up to London, clapt in the Tower, kept
 “ close prisoner, and fed for a short time on
 “ bread and water; yet not so empty his body
 “ of food, as his mind was filled with fears,
 “ creating many suspicions to himself, when
 “ and how he had incurred the king’s dis-
 “ pleasure. At last a sir-loyne of beef was
 “ set before him, on which the abbot fed as
 “ the farmer of his grange, and verified the
 “ proverb, that two hungry meales make the
 “ third a glutton. In springs King Henry
 “ out of a private lobbie, where he had placed
 “ himself, the invisible spectator of the Abbot’s
 “ behaviour. ‘ My Lord,’ quoth the King,
 “ ‘ presently deposit your hundred pounds in
 “ ‘ gold, or else no going hence all the days
 “ ‘ of your life. I have been your physician,
 “ ‘ to cure you of your queasie stomach; and
 “ ‘ here, as I deserve, I demand my fee for

“ ‘the same.’ The abbot down with the dust,
 “ and glad he had escaped so, returned to
 “ Reading ; as somewhat lighter in his purse,
 “ so much more merrier in heart than when
 “ he came thence.”*

The tediousness of the long old English entertainments was relieved, by the occasional introduction of pageantry ; the cheerful notes of music from the gallery ; and the extem-

* If further proofs of monastic luxury and indecorum in the sixteenth century be necessary, we may insert the following letter, which was written by one of the visitors, appointed by Henry to inspect the religious houses, and sent to the Lord Cromwell, about the year 1537. It is preserved among Mr. Dodsworth's MS. Collections in the Bodleian Library.

“ My singular good Lord, &c. As touching the Abbot
 “ of Bury, nothing suspect as touching his living ; but it
 “ was detected he lay much forth at Granges, and spent
 “ much money in playing at cards and dice. It was con-
 “ fessed and proved, that there was here such frequence
 “ of women, comyn and resortyn, as to no place more.
 “ Among the relikis are found, the coles St. Lawrence was
 “ roasted withal ; the paring of St. Edmund's nails ; St.
 “ Thomas of Canterbury's penknife and books ; and
 “ divers sculls for the head-ache ; pieces of the holy cross ;
 “ other reliks for rain, and for avoiding the weeds grow-
 “ ing in corn, &c. From Bury St. Edmund's. Your
 “ servant bounden, Joseph ap Rice.” Grosse's Pref, 57,
 note (a.)

poraneous *chansons* of the *jongleur* or *minstrel*.

The English minstrel was the descendant of the ancient Scandinavian scald.*

From the highest antiquity, there seems always to have been a race of men, among the northern nations, who devoted themselves entirely to the study of poetry and music.† They were held in the utmost veneration by their uninformed countrymen; and some of them constantly retained about the person of the prince. It was the business of these Scalds to entertain the monarch with their poetical effusions in peace, and to animate him with inspiring strains in war; to stimulate him to hardy deeds, by the recital of the heroic actions of his ancestors; and to recount, and deliver to posterity, whatever he had himself atchieved, worthy of being recorded.‡

* Du Fresne says they are called Scalds, "a sono et murmure quod canendo edebant." Gloss. tom. i. p. 720. Though, according to Dr. Percy, the word denotes a "smoother and polisher of language." Vide *Essay on the Ancient Eng. Minstrels*, prefixed to the first vol. of *Reliques of Ancient Eng. Poetry*, p. 2.

† Mallet's *North. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 393, et infra.

‡ Vide Gloss, Du Fresne, in verb. t. ii. p. 669.

In Britain, also, the office of Scald was not unknown, though it bore a different appellation. He was here called a *bard*; a name, in process of time, changed to that of *harper*, *jongleur*, *gleeman*, or *minstrel*. The English minstrel, however, seems never to have enjoyed the same respect with the northern scald; for here his art was rather considered as a means of amusement, than as the vehicle of information; nor did he pretend to support the complicated character of historian, genealogist, poet, and musician, which were united in the Scandinavian scald.* He was, notwithstanding, universally esteemed; and considerable deference was paid both to his person and his office.

History affords many proofs of the estimation in which harpers were held by the Saxons and Danes: for we are assured, that his art and garb were sufficient passports for him through the camp of the enemy; ensured his safety in the field of battle; and made him a welcome guest wherever he came.†

* Vide Percy's Essay on the Ancient Eng. Minstrels, prefixed to the first vol. of Rel. of Ancient Eng. Poetry.

† The instances we allude to may be found in Geoffery of Monmouth, Hist. lib. vii. c. 1, edit. 1508; in Vita Ælfredi

The Normans brought with them into this country that partiality for the scaldic character which distinguished all the northern nations. The court of William the Conqueror himself was not without one of this profession ; who must have been high in the favour of the monarch ; since the possessions of the *joculator regis* are minuted down in that venerable record, Domesday Book.*

Between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the profession of minstrel seems to have flourished in its meridian glory. The remarkable adventure, attributed to Blondel de Nesle,

Mag. p. 33, annot. edit. 1678; and Gulielm. Malms. lib. ii. c. 6.

* Fol. 162, col. i. "*Gloucesterscire Berdie joculator regis habet 3 villas, et ibi 5 car. null redd.*" This office continued to be kept up during several reigns. In the 36th year of Henry III. we find that a present of 40s. and a pipe of wine, was made to Richard, the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife. Wart. Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 48. Several harpers are found among the officers of Henry VIIIth's household. They appear to have been all foreigners. "The board wages of John Bassiani, Anthony de Bassiani, Jasper de Bassiani, &c. eighteen minstrels, every one of them at fourpence a day; one hundred and nineteen pounds ten shillings." Ordinances made at Eltham, in the 17th year of Henry VIII. p. 198.

related above, rendered the character still more respectable than it had been, and endeared it in a peculiar manner to the English nation.

Soon after this period, the minstrel became a part of the household establishment of the British nobility. We find Thomas Earl of Lancaster allowing, at Christmas 1314, a quantity of cloth, or vestis liberata, to his household minstrels.* These musical attendants sat apart at the feast; and entertained their lord and his guests with their own productions, or the metrical romances of the times; accompanying them with their harp. When their attendance was not required at home, they had the privilege of exercising their art at the entertainments of other great men, for which they appear to have been handsomely rewarded.† At the splendid nuptials of the Countess of Holland, daughter of Edward I. every king-minstrel received a gratuity of forty shillings for his trouble and attendance, which

* Stowe's Survey of London, p. 184, edit. 1618.

† The honours and rewards which were bestowed on the minstrels seem to have given great disgust to some of the more serious people of the age. Johan. Sarisbur. Epist. 274.

was a considerable sum in the thirteenth century.*

The freedom both in speech and action which the minstrels of these times were permitted to use, shews the consequence to which they had attained. Of this, the following anecdotes are examples. Henry III. being at Paris in 1250, held a great entertainment in the hall of the Knights Templars, at which the Kings of France and Navarre, all the nobility of France, and a great number of English Knights, were present. The sides of the hall in which the feast was held were covered with shields; and among them was that which had belonged to Richard I. As the feast was serving up, a jocular or minstrel addressed the English monarch in this manner. "Wherefore, sire, did you invite these Frenchmen to your feast? Behold the shield of the mighty Richard, the monarch of England! All

* With respect to the king-minstrel, Dr. Percy has this note. "The minstrels seem to have been in many respects upon the same footing with the heralds. The king of the minstrels, like the king at arms, was an usual officer, both here and in France. P. 73, Du Cange, Gloss. 4. 773. *Rex ministrellorum supremus inter ministrellos.*"

“ your French guests will partake of your feast
“ in fear and trembling.”*

In the reign of Edward III. at the installation of the Black Prince his son, in the midst of the feast, we are told, a vast troop of minstrels entered the hall uninvited, and without ceremony, and were yet received with the highest honour and respect.†

We have another instance related by Stowe, in which we find a woman following the profession of minstrel.

“ In the year 1316, Edward II. did solemnize his feast of Pentecost at Westminster, in the Great Hall, where sitting royally at the table with his peers about him, there entered a woman, adorned like a minstrell, sitting on a great horse, trapped as minstrells then used; who rode round about the tables, shewing pastime, and at length came up to the king’s table, and laid before him a letter, and forthwith turning her horse, saluted every one, and departed.”‡

* Vide Matt. Paris, p. 871. edit. Tigur. 1589.

† Vide Nic. Trivet. Annall. edit. Oxon. p. 342.

‡ Vide Stowe’s Survey, p. 521. The answers of the porters, when they were blamed for admitting this fe-

This indulgence, however, which was thus shewn to the minstrel, seems at length to have been much abused. His intrusions became so ill-timed and obnoxious, and his manners so licentious, that it was found necessary to bring the profession under stricter regulations; and in the year 1315, a dietarie was published, to curtail their privileges.†

Till the reign of Elizabeth, the minstrel continued a necessary part of the household establishment of every nobleman; but from that period his art declined, and he began to be held in contempt. When science became more general, and the minds of men more enlightened, the higher ranks of people sought and found resources within themselves; and were no longer obliged to recur for information or amusement to the moral recitations of old ballads, or, what were now called, strolling vagrants. The patronage and encouragement of the great being thus withdrawn, shews the indulgences they had, and the freedom they used. "Non," say they, "*esse moris domus regiae histriones ab ingressu quomodolibet prohibere, &c.*"—*Walsing. apud Norman. Anglic. et Franc. Hist.*

† Vide Leland. Collee. vol. vi. 36.

drawn from the minstrel, he speedily fell into neglect and obscurity. In the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, a statute was enacted to punish minstrels found wandering about; and such was the effect of the law, that from this period we find no further mention of them.*

Jews.—A more convincing external proof of the verity of “our most holy faith” cannot be presented to the reasonable mind, than the *state of the Jews*, from the period of the crucifixion of our Saviour to the present times. They have been a standing miracle for nearly eighteen centuries; a visible and palpable evidence to every intermediate age, that the prophecies delivered of them, as far

* Percy’s Essay, p. 37. Previously to their extinction, they sank very low indeed, as we may learn from the following passage: “Blind harpers, or such taverne minstrels, that give a fit of mirth for a groat; their matter being for the most part stories of old time, as the Tale of Sir Topaz, &c. made purposely for recreation of the common people, in taverns and ale-houses, and such other places of base resort.—*Putten. Art. of Eng. Post.* p. 69.

as their degradation is concerned, have been completely fulfilled; and that the imprecation on themselves and their posterity, when they were crying for the execution of their Messiah, ("his blood be on us and on our children,") "entered into the ear of the Lord of Hosts," and brought down on the unhappy race its appropriate retribution. From the hour of their crime, they have been experiencing its punishment; exhibiting a living and never-failing comment on the predictions of their Psalmist,* that "others should take their office;" that "their children should be vagabonds;" that "the extortioner should consume all they had;" that "strangers should spoil their labour;" and that "their back should ever be bowed down;" and affording such an illustrious testimony of the authenticity of the scriptures, as, one might reasonably hope, would silence the most ingenious scepticism, and proselyte the most hardened infidelity. Their annals, like the roll of

* We are fully justified, we apprehend, in considering the 109th Psalm, and others of a similar description, as prophetic rather than execratory.

the prophet, are "written, within and without," "with lamentations, and mourning, and woe;" the melancholy catalogue of the captivities, banishments, exactions, torturings, and massacres, of a people, once the peculiar care of Heaven, and the depository of "the oracles of God." Mingling with every nation under the canopy of the sky, they have amalgamated with none. But, though with little in common, either in faith, or in character, or in manner, or in language, or even in aspect, with those among whom they have dwelt: without a ruler, without a polity, without a country, they have still been maintained as an existing, though a separate, people; neither obliterated from the face of society, by the oppressions of seventeen hundred years; nor absorbed, nor melted down, into any particular community, by their constant admixture with the different races of mankind. It is equally a subject of solemn reflection, also, that, unlike any other nation, they have found enemies at all times, and in every quarter, from the professors of all religions, and under every state of human manners. To them alone, amid the strange vicissitudes of the

kingdoms of the earth, no renovation of their common-weal has occurred, no sympathy has been extended, no "right hand of fellowship" held out; but Pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian, the degenerated Roman, the voluptuous Byzantine, and the northern barbarian, have, in this solitary instance, acted in unison, and alike considered and treated the deserted "House of Israel," as "an off-scouring and "refuse in the midst of the people;"* thus unwittingly fulfilling the divine decree, and holding out to mankind, a token to their senses, their reason, or their faith, that "there "shall fall unto the earth nothing of the word "of the Lord, which the Lord hath spoken."†

It is mortifying to reflect, that our own country stands charged with the persecution of this wretched people; and has too often been a scene of their unparalleled sufferings: returning the advantages which it derived from their industrious and useful exertions, with the most contumelious and inhuman treatment. These advantages were by no means unimportant at the period in which

* Lamentations of Jeremiah, iii. 45. † 2 Kings x. 10.

they were experienced. Excluded, as the Jews were, from all the paths of life which lead to power and honour, *that* alone was left to their choice, which held out the prospect of, perhaps, distant, but eventual, wealth. Hence their attention was exclusively directed to the concerns of trade, and to money matters, properly so called ; such as the loan of sums at certain rates of interest, and the transfer of cash by bills of exchange ; an invention, which it clearly appears may be attributed to them. These modes of gain, aided by their caution and apparent parsimony, (the guise of which it was necessary for them to assume in lawless ages, and when every man's hand was against them,) necessarily rendered the Jews a very rich body of people ; a circumstance which our Anglo-Norman kings, and their licentious barons, knew perfectly well ; and of which they availed themselves, as often as the exchequer of the one was empty, or prodigality had exhausted the coffers of the other. It was then that pretences were sought for, or fabricated, for the fleecing of the Jews. The absurdest reports were seized upon, and

the most improbable facts imagined, as an excuse for their amercement, imprisonment, or slaughter ; and the commonalty, ever ready to assist in the work of plunder, and taught by their bigoted clergy to hate and abhor the unfortunate race, pursued them with the fury of blood-hounds, till their rage was sated, or their fury gratified.* At the coronation of Richard I. a scene of this inhuman and disgraceful description occurred. “ On the day “ preceding the ceremony, intimation was “ given to the Jews not to appear at it. “ However, many endeavouring to gratify “ their curiosity by carrying presents to the “ king, attempted to get into the Abbey “ Church of St. Peter’s, Westminster ; and “ being repulsed by the royal domestics, a “ rumour spread among the populace, that “ the king had given an order for the entire “ destruction of that people. Upon which “ the mob, in a most cruel and barbarous “ manner, fell upon the poor, defenceless,

* The Jew was a *marked* object, easily distinguished among the plebeian multitude, from the *square yellow cap* with which he was obliged by law to cover his head,—Du Cange Gloss. tom. viii. 489.

“ and unfortunate wretches, and killed all who
 “ fell in their way. Nor did their phrensy stop
 “ here; for they hastened to London, where,
 “ with a fury more than diabolical, they mur-
 “ dered all they could find, and after pillaging
 “ their houses, burnt them.*” To the unprin-
 cipated and profligate John, the Jews were a
 never-failing spring of pecuniary supply, when
 he had drained his treasury. From the wealthy
 Isaac of Norwich he extorted by torture the
 sum of ten thousand marks, (equal at present
 to upwards of £100,000,) to be paid at the
 rate of one mark per day for his life, and the
 remainder by his heirs.† A Jew of Bristol
 experienced a similar treatment from him ;
 and so numerous were his exactions on this
 class of his subjects, that it was found neces-
 sary to establish an exchequer, exclusively
 confined to the cognizance of such iniquitous
 payments. Like scenes of atrocity and horror
 stained the reign of Henry III., in conse-
 quence of the report which had been raised of
 the Jews of Norwich having circumcised a

* Maitland's History of London, i. 53.

† Madox's History of the Exchequer, c. 7, p. 153:

christian child. Numbers of them were murdered on the spot, where the fact was said to have happened; and the Jews who resided in London, and who could not even by implication have been connected with the transaction, were compelled to pay the King the sum of twenty thousand marks. It is this imaginary transgression of the English Jews, which probably suggested to some writer of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the beautiful Scotch Ballad of the *Jew's Daughter*, printed in the Bishop of Dromore's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

The rain rins doun (*runs down*) through Mirry-land (*Milan*)
 Sae dois (*so does*) it doune the Pa : (*Po*) [tounce
 Sae dois the lads of Mirry-land tounce,
 Quhan (*when*) they play at the ba'. (*ball*)
 Than out and cam the Jewis dochter, (*daughter*)
 Said, Will ye cum in and dine ?
 I winnae cum in, I cannae cum in,
 Without my play-feres (*play-fellows*) nine.
 Scho powd (*she shewed*) an apple reid and white
 To intice the zong (*young*) thing in:
 Scho powd an apple white and reid,
 And that the sweit bairne did win.
 And scho has taine (*taken*) out a little pen-knife
 And low down by her gair,
 Scho has twin'd (*deprived*) the zong thing of his life ;
 A word he nevir spak mair.

And out and cam the thick thick bluid,
 And out and cam the thin ;
 And out and cam the bonny hert's bluid :
 Thair was nae life left in.

Scho laid him on a dressing borde,
 And drest him like a swine,
 And laughing said, Gae now and pley
 With zour (*your*) sweit play-feres nine.

Scho rowd (*roll'd*) him in a cake of lead,
 Bade him lie stil and sleip.
 Scho cast him in a deep draw-well,
 Was fifty fadom deip.

Quhan bells wer rung, and mass was sung,
 And every lady went hame :
 Than ilka (*every*) lady had her zong sonne,
 Bot lady Helen had nane.

Scho rowd hir mantil hir about,
 And sair sair (*sore*) gan she weip :
 And she ran into the Jewis castel,
 Quhan they wer all asleip.

My bonny sir Hew, my pretty sir Hew,
 I pray thee to me speik :
 ' O lady, rinn (*run*) to the deip draw-well
 ' Gin ze (*if you*) zour sonne wad seik.'

Lady Helen ran to the deip draw-well,
 And knelt upon her knee :
 My bonny sir Hew, and ze (*if you*) be here,
 I pray thee speik to me.

The lead is wondrous heavy, mithor,
 The well is wondrous deip,
 A keene pen-knife sticks in my hert,
 A word I donnae speik.

Gae hame, gae hame, my mither deir,
Fetch me my winding sheet,
And at the back o' Mirry-land toun,
Its thair we twa sall (*two shall*) meet.*

Another massacre flooded the streets of London with Jewish blood in 1264; in consequence of a Jew having demanded, of a christian, interest at the rate of two-pence per week on twenty shillings. The commonalty gladly availed themselves of the venial offence, as a just cause of punishing and robbing the obnoxious tribe; and no fewer than five hundred were killed upon the spot; and all their property divided and carried off.† Nor did the justice of the English Justinian extend its otherwise impartial arm to this proscribed race, who, having been accused of clipping the King's coin, were ordered, in the sixth year of Edward I., to be seized, imprisoned, and fined, throughout England, in one

* Vol. i. p. 39. See, in the same interesting work, the poem of Gernutus the Jew of Venice, (in which as in Shakespeare's play, the Jew is the oppressor,) and the notes on it: where the source from whence Shakespeare obtained the story of the Merchant of Venice is pointed out. See also Warton's *Spencer's Fairy Queen*, v. i. 179.

† *Fabian Chron.* p. 7.

day ; and two hundred and eighty of them, of both sexes, resident in London, to be immediately executed.*

It should seem, too, that nearer our own times the dislike to this extraordinary people had not abated in our own country ; for on the passing of the famous Jew Bill in 1753, which enabled all of that faith to prefer bills of naturalization in Parliament, without receiving the Sacrament, as ordained by stat. 7, Jac. I. the opposition was so powerful and violent, and the public indignation so great, that, to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom, and to save the objects, whom the Act was intended to serve, from popular fury, it was deemed necessary to repeal it in the ensuing session of Parliament. It is a pleasing consideration, however, that these harsh and unchristian feelings towards a defenceless people, have at length been obliterated among us ; and that the appeal of the Jew to our common nature has ceased to be disregarded : “ Hath not a Jew eyes ? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, “ dimensions, senses, affections, passions ? fed

* Maitland's Hist. London, 105.

“ with the same food, hurt with the same
 “ weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed
 “ by the same medicines, warmed and cooled
 “ by the same winter and summer, as a christ-
 “ ian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed?
 “ If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you
 “ poison us, do we not die?”*

The effort of united philanthropy and genius
 in the late Mr. Cumberland, to rescue the cha-
 racter of “ the Jew ” from odium and obloquy,
 and to raise it to its fair rank in society, will not
 be forgotten in that day, when the divine
 Author of *charity* shall “ make up his jewels; ”
 nor can the zealous endeavours of those who
 are now devoting time, and talent, and money
 to the removal of the veil from the house of
 Israel, miss of their appropriate reward. How
 far, indeed, the *mode* adopted for the attain-
 ment of this desirable result may be consistent
 with calm views of the nature of man, the
 operations of Providence, and the intimations
 of scripture, is a different question ; but the
feeling which has suggested, and is operating
 it, must be regarded as laudable, respectable,

* Merchant of Venice, act iii. scene 1st.

and holy. To *us* it appears, that as it has pleased God to carry on his dealings with mankind by *natural means*, ever since the period when he ceased to establish his will by *miraculous* ones, so the conversion of the Jews to the faith of the Gospel will be a *progressive work*, effected by the like *ordinary* operations of Providence ; by the confidence which is now established between those who were formerly the oppressors and the oppressed ; by the increasing kindly feelings of them “ who “ name the name of Christ ” to the followers of “ Moses and the prophets ; ” by the *reasonableness* of the christian system evincing itself to minds, becoming, every day, freer from prejudice, and better qualified to appreciate the evidences of our faith ; and, above all, by that gradual growth in piety, virtue, and charity, which, we may fairly hope, is exemplifying itself in the Christian world, and which will be the best external proof, to those who are not of our fold, of the divinity of our creed, as well as of our own sincerity in the profession of it. These ordinary, quiet, and persuasive means, (aided by the blessing of heaven,

which is ever showered down upon all that is benevolent and good,) we may well conceive, (without indulging any enthusiastic speculations on the subject,) will, in God's good time, bring about that sublime consummation of the divine dispensations here below, foretold and promised by the word of eternal truth; when the gathering of the Gentiles being completed, and the house of Israel proselyted to the Gospel; the universal nations of the world shall become "one fold under one Shepherd;" "the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord," and "all flesh shall see the salvation of God."

We were favoured with the following translation of the greater part of the lines given in page 92, (after that sheet was printed,) by Francis Douce, esq; whose unrivalled skill in the Norman-French and Provençal languages (independently of his profound antiquarian knowledge, and extensive general information) is a sufficient pledge of its accuracy. Mr. Douce apprehends that the lines have not been faithfully printed in the Bishop of Dromore's work, from, perhaps, the only MS. copy existing; and in consequence of the errors, he finds the two last lines unintelligible.

Lady! your own beauty, and that of the fine
Clothes you wear—your brilliant and amorous
Eyes; the elegant shape of your genteel
Person—all these have completely imprisoned
My heart, and bound it in the chain of love.
So much beauty has perhaps too much
Agitated me: but I will never part
From you, whom I will honour more
And more; and remain under your
Dominion only.*

* See also Burney's Hist. Music, vol. ii. p. 236; and Mills's Hist. Crusades, 8vo. vol. ii. 396.

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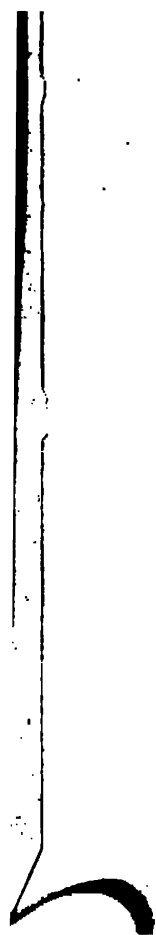
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